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A JEWISH REVIEW



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Poet of the Jewish Middle Class
The Economic Outlook: Favorable If—
The Parachutists from Palestine
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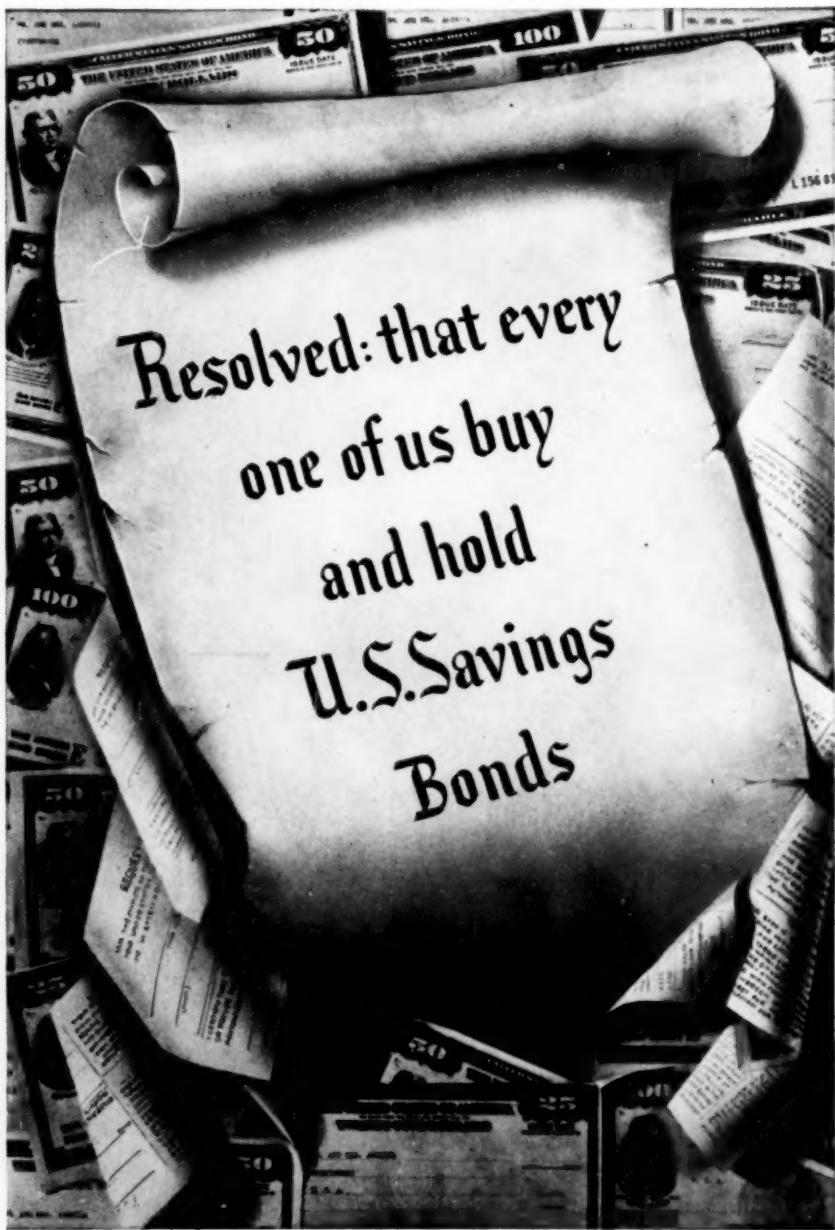
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PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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COMMENTARY

INCORPORATING CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD
MAY 1946 VOLUME 1, NUMBER 7

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COMMENTARY, incorporating *Contemporary Jewish Record*: Published monthly by the American Jewish Committee: Commentary Publication Committee, Ralph E. Samuel, Chairman; David Sher, John Slawson, Alan H. Stroock, Ira M. Younker. 40¢ a copy; \$4.00 a year; 2 years, \$7.50; 3 years, \$10.00. Canadian and Foreign \$1.00 a year additional. Offices, 425 Fourth Avenue, New York 16. Reentered as second-class matter October 30, 1945, at the post office in New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1946, by **COMMENTARY**. All rights, including translation into other languages, reserved by the publisher in the United States, Great Britain, Mexico, and all countries participating in the International Copyright Convention and the Pan-American Copyright Convention. Indexed in International Index to Periodicals, Magazine Subject Index, and Public Affairs Information Service.

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Trude Weiss-Rosmarin

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Mr. List appraises the music of the composer of "Show Boat" and gives him his place in the line of the world's great masters of operetta. By the author of the much-discussed articles on George Gershwin and Leonard Bernstein in previous issues.

COMMENTARY

INCORPORATING CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD

THE JEWISH STATE: FIFTY YEARS AFTER

Where Have Herzl's Politics Led?

HANNAH ARENDT

READING Herzl's *The Jewish State* today is a peculiar experience. One becomes aware that those things in it that Herzl's own contemporaries would have called utopian now actually determine the ideology and policies of the Zionist movement; while those of Herzl's practical proposals for the building of a Jewish homeland which must have

WITH the issuance of the report of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, the question of the "Jewish State" occupies more than ever the foreground of the discussion on the future of Palestine. HANNAH ARENDT's is the first of several articles, by leading thinkers of various views, which COMMENTARY plans to print to illuminate this subject. This is the 50th anniversary of Herzl's *Judenstaat*, which fathered political Zionism. In her article Dr. Arendt endeavors to place Herzl's program in its European historical setting, to trace its evolution, and to critically examine its political implications for today's world and the future. Dr. Arendt's incisive writing on politics and history have won her an increasing American audience. She studied philosophy at Heidelberg under Jaspers, wrote for German magazines before her emigration to France in 1933, and in France was chairman of the Youth Aliyah and a special delegate of the Jewish Agency. Interned at Gurs in 1940, she came here in 1941. She is a research fellow of the Conference on Jewish Relations and is writing a book on imperialism.

appeared quite realistic fifty years ago have had no influence whatsoever.

The last is all the more surprising because these practical proposals are far from antiquated even for our own age. Herzl proposed a "Jewish Company" that would build a state with "Relief by Labor"—that is, by paying a "good-for-nothing beggar" charity rates for forced full-time work—and by the "truck system" consisting of labor gangs "drafted from place to place like a body of troops" and paid in goods instead of wages. Herzl was also determined to suppress all "opposition" in case of lack of gratitude on the part of people to whom the land would be given. All this sounds only too familiar. And it is altogether to the honor of the Jewish people that nobody—as far as I know—ever discussed these "realistic" proposals seriously, and that Palestinian reality has turned out to be almost the opposite of what Herzl dreamt.

The above features of Herzl's program, though happily forgotten in the present political state of affairs in Palestine, are nevertheless significant. For all their innocence, they show to which category of politician in the framework of European history Herzl belonged. When he wrote *The Jewish State* Herzl was deeply convinced that he was under some sort of

higher inspiration, yet at the same time he was earnestly afraid of making a fool of himself. This extreme self-esteem mixed with self-doubt is no rare phenomenon; it is usually the sign of the "crackpot." And in a sense this Viennese whose style, manner and ideals hardly differed from those of his more obscure fellow-journalists was indeed a crackpot.

But even in Herzl's time—the time of the Dreyfus Affair, when the crackpots were just embarking on their political careers in many movements functioning outside the parliaments and the regular parties—even then they were already in closer touch with the subterranean currents of history and the deep desires of the folk than were all the sane leaders of affairs with their balanced outlooks and utterly uncomprehending mentalities. The crackpots were already beginning to be prominent everywhere—the anti-Semites Stoecker and Ahlwardt in Germany, Schoenerer and Lueger in Austria, and Drumont and Deroulède in France.

Herzl wrote *The Jewish State* under the direct and violent impact of these new political forces. And he was among the first to estimate correctly their chances of ultimate success. Even more important, however, than the correctness of his forecast was the fact that he was not altogether out of sympathy with the new movements. When he said, "I believe that I understand anti-Semitism," he meant that he not only understood historical causes and political constellations, but also that he understood—and to a certain extent, correctly—the man who hated Jews. It is true, his frequent appeals to "honest anti-Semites" to "subscribe small amounts" to the national fund for the establishment of a Jewish state were not very realistic; and he was equally unrealistic when he invited them: "whilst preserving their independence [to] combine with our officials in controlling the transfer of our estates" from the Diaspora to the Jewish homeland; and he frequently asserted, in all innocence, that anti-Semites would be the Jews' best friends and anti-Semitic governments their best allies. But

this faith in anti-Semites expressed very eloquently and even touchingly how close his own state of mind was to that of his hostile environment and how intimately he did belong to the "alien" world.

With the demagogic politicians of his own and more recent times, Herzl shared both a contempt for the masses and a very real affinity with them. And like these same politicians, he was more an incarnation than a representative of the strata of society to which he belonged. He did more than "love" or simply speak for the new and ever increasing class of Jewish "intellects that we produce so super-abundantly and that are persecuted everywhere"; he did more than merely discern in these intellectuals the real *luftmenschen* of Western Jewry—that is, Jews who, though economically secure, had no place in either Jewish or Gentile society and whose personal problems could be solved only by a reorientation of the Jewish people as a whole. Herzl actually incarnated these Jewish intellectuals in himself in the sense that everything he said or did was exactly what they would have, had they shown an equal amount of moral courage in revealing their inmost secret thoughts.

Another trait Herzl shared with the leaders of the new anti-Semitic movements by whose hostility he was so deeply impressed was the furious will to action at any price—action, however, that was to be conducted according to certain supposedly immutable and inevitable laws and inspired and supported by invincible natural forces. Herzl's conviction that he was in alliance with history and nature themselves saved him from the suspicion that he himself might have been insane. Anti-Semitism was an overwhelming force and the Jews would have either to make use of it or be swallowed up by it. In his own words, anti-Semitism was the "propelling force" responsible for all Jewish suffering since the destruction of the Temple and it would continue to make the Jews suffer until they learned how to use it for their own advantage. In expert hands this "propelling force" would prove the most salutary factor in Jewish life: it

would be used the same way that boiling water is used to produce steam power.

This mere will to action was something so startlingly new, so utterly revolutionary in Jewish life, that it spread with the speed of wildfire. Herzl's lasting greatness lay in his very desire to do something about the Jewish question, his desire to act and to solve the problem in political terms.

DURING the twenty centuries of their Diaspora the Jews have made only two attempts to change their condition by direct political action. The first was the Sabbatai Zevi movement, the mystic-political movement for the salvation of Jewry which terminated the Jewish Middle Ages and brought about a catastrophe whose consequences determined Jewish attitudes and basic convictions for over two centuries thereafter. In preparing as they did to follow Sabbatai Zevi, the self-appointed "Messiah," back to Palestine in the mid-1600's, the Jews assumed that their ultimate hope of a Messianic millennium was about to be realized. Until Sabbatai Zevi's time they had been able to conduct their communal affairs by means of a politics that existed in the realm of imagination alone—the memory of a far-off past and the hope of a far-off future. With the Sabbatai Zevi movement these centuries-old memories and hopes culminated in a single exalted moment. Its catastrophical aftermath brought to a close—probably forever—the period in which religion alone could provide the Jews with a firm framework within which to satisfy their political, spiritual and everyday needs. The attendant disillusionment was lasting in so far as from then on their religion no longer afforded the Jews an adequate means of evaluating and dealing with contemporary events, political or otherwise. Whether a Jew was pious or not, whether he kept the Law or lived outside its fence, he was henceforth to judge secular events on a secular basis and make secular decisions in secular terms.

Jewish secularization culminated at last in a second attempt to dissolve the Diaspora.

This was the rise of the Zionist movement.

The mere fact that a catastrophe had thrown the Jews from the two extremes of the past and the future into the middle ground of the present does not signify that they had now become "realistic." To be confronted by reality does not automatically produce an understanding of reality or make one feel at home in it. On the contrary, the process of secularization made Jews even less "realistic"—that is, less capable than ever before of facing and understanding the real situation. In losing their faith in a divine beginning and ultimate culmination of history, the Jews lost their guide through the wilderness of bare facts; for when man is robbed of all means of interpreting events he is left with no sense whatsoever of reality. The present that confronted the Jews after the Sabbatai Zevi debacle was the turmoil of a world whose course no longer made sense and in which, as a result, the Jews could no longer find a place.

The need for a guide or key to history was felt by all Jews alike. But by the 19th century it was a need that was not at all specific to the Jews alone. In this context Zionism can be included among the many "isms" of that period, each of which claimed to explain reality and predict the future in terms of irresistible laws and forces. Yet the case of the Jews was and still remains different. What they needed was not only a guide to reality, but reality itself; not simply a key to history, but the experience itself of history.

As I have just indicated, this need of reality had existed since the collapse of the Sabbatai Zevi movement and the disappearance of Messianic hope as a lively factor in the consciousness of the Jewish masses. But it became an effective force only at the end of the 19th century, mainly because of two entirely separate factors whose coincidence produced Zionism and formed Herzl's ideology.

The first of these factors had little to do, essentially, with Jewish history. It so happened that in the 80's of the last century

anti-Semitism sprang up as a political force simultaneously in Russia, Germany, Austria and France. The pogroms of 1881 in Russia set in motion that huge migratory movement from East to West which remained the most characteristic single feature of modern Jewish history until 1933. Moreover, the emergence of political anti-Semitism at exactly the same moment in both Central and Western Europe and the support, if not leadership, given it by sizable sections of the European intelligentsia refuted beyond doubt the traditional liberal contention that Jew-hatred was only a remnant of the so-called Dark Ages.

But even more important for the political history of the Jewish people was the fact that the Westward migration—despite the objections to the "Ostjuden" so loudly voiced by the emancipated Jews of the West—brought together the two main sections of Jewry, laid the foundation for a new feeling of solidarity—at least among the moral élite—and taught both Eastern and Western Jews to see their situation in identical terms. The Russian Jew who came to Germany in flight from persecution discovered that enlightenment had not extinguished violent Jew-hatred, and the German Jew who saw the homelessness of his Eastern brother began to view his own situation in a different light.

The second factor responsible for the rise of Zionism was entirely Jewish—it was the emergence of a class entirely new to Jewish society, the intellectuals, of whom Herzl became the main spokesman and whom he himself termed the class of "average (*durchschnittliche*) intellects." These intellectuals resembled their brethren in the more traditional Jewish occupations in so far as they, too, were entirely de-Judaized in respect to culture and religion. What distinguished them was that they no longer lived in a cultural vacuum; they had actually become "assimilated": they were not only de-Judaized, they were also Westernized. This, however, did not make for their social adjustment. Although Gentile society did not receive them on equal terms, they had no

place in Jewish society either, because they did not fit into its atmosphere of business and family connections.

The psychological result of their situation was to make these Jewish intellectuals the first Jews in history capable of understanding anti-Semitism on its own political terms, and even to make them susceptible to the deeper and more basic political attitudes of which anti-Semitism was but one expression among others.

THE two classic pamphlets of Zionist literature, Pinsker's *Auto-emancipation* and Herzl's *The Jewish State*, were written by members of this new Jewish class. For the first time Jews saw themselves as a people through the eyes of the nations: "To the living the Jew is a corpse, to the native a foreigner, to the homesteader a vagrant, to the proprietor a beggar, to the poor an exploiter and millionaire, to the patriot a man without a country, to all a hated rival"—this was the characteristically precise and sober way Pinsker put it. Both Herzl and Pinsker identified the Jewish question in all its aspects and connections with the fact of anti-Semitism, which both conceived of as the natural reaction of all peoples, always and everywhere, to the very existence of Jews. As Pinsker put it, and as both believed, the Jewish question could be solved only by "finding a means of reintegrating this exclusive element in the family of nations so that the basis of the Jewish question would be permanently removed."

What still is Zionism's advantage over assimilationism is that it placed the whole question on a political level from the very beginning and asked for this "readjustment" in political terms. The assimilationists sought readjustment no less desperately, but spent their energies in founding innumerable vocational-training societies for Jews without, however, having the least power to force Jews to change their occupations. The intellectual followers of assimilationism carefully avoided political issues and invented the "salt of the earth" theory, making it quite clear that they would prefer

the crudest secularization of the Jewish religious concept of chosenness to any radical re-definition of the Jewish position in the world of nations.

In other words, the great advantage of the Zionists' approach lay in the fact that their will to convert the Jews into a "nation like all other nations" saved them from falling into that Jewish brand of chauvinism automatically produced by secularization, which somehow persuades the average de-Judaized Jew that, although he no longer believes in a God who chooses or rejects, he is still a superior being simply because he happened to be born a Jew—the salt of the earth—or the motor of history.

The Zionist will to action, to come to grips with reality, embodied a second advantage—this time over the internationalist and revolutionary approach to the Jewish question. This approach, no less than assimilationist chauvinism, was the consequence of the secularization of religious attitudes. But it was not initiated by average Jews, rather by an élite. Having lost their hope of a Messianic millenium that would bring about the final reconciliation of all peoples, these Jews transferred their hopes to the progressive forces of history which would solve the Jewish question automatically, along with all other injustices. Revolutions in the social systems of other peoples would create a mankind without classes and nations; the Jews together with their problems would be dissolved in this new mankind—at the end of days somehow. What happened in the meantime did not count so much; Jews would have to suffer as a matter of course along with all other persecuted classes and peoples.

The Zionists' fight against this spurious selflessness—which could only arouse suspicion as to the ultimate aims and motives of a policy that expected one's own people to behave like saints and to make the chief sacrifices—has been of great importance because it tried to teach the Jews to solve their problems by their own efforts, not by those of others.

But this struggle hardly enters the pic-

ture of Herzl's Zionism. He had a blind hatred of all revolutionary movements as such and an equally blind faith in the goodness and stability of the society of his times. The aspect of Zionism here in question received its best expression in the writings of the great French Jewish writer, Bernard Lazare. Lazare wanted to be a revolutionary among his own people, not among others, and could find no place in Herzl's essentially reactionary movement.

Yet in considering Herzl's movement as a whole and in assessing his definite merits within the given historical situation, it is necessary to say that Zionism opposed a comparatively sound nationalism to the hidden chauvinism of assimilationism and a relatively sound realism to the obvious utopianism of Jewish radicals.

HOWEVER, the more ideological and utopian elements expressed in *The Jewish State* had greater influence in the long run on the formulations and practice of Zionism than did the undeniable assets set forth above. Herzl's will to reality at any price rested on a view that held reality to be an unchanging and unchangeable structure, always identical with itself. In this reality he saw little else but eternally established nation-states arrayed compactly against the Jews on one side, and on the other side the Jews themselves, in dispersion and eternally persecuted. Nothing else mattered: differences in class structure, differences between political parties or movements, between various countries or various periods of history did not exist for Herzl. All that did exist were unchanging bodies of people viewed as biological organisms mysteriously endowed with eternal life; these bodies breathed an unchanging hostility toward the Jews that was ready to take the form of pogroms or persecution at any moment. Any segment of reality that could not be defined by anti-Semitism was not taken into account and any group that could not be definitely classed as anti-Semitic was not taken seriously as a political force.

Jewish political action meant for Herzl

finding a place within the unchanging structure of this reality, a place where Jews would be safe from hatred and eventual persecution. A people without a country would have to escape to a country without a people; there the Jews, unhampered by relations with other nations, would be able to develop their own isolated organism.

Herzl thought in terms of nationalism inspired from German sources—as opposed to the French variety, which could never quite repudiate its original relationship to the political ideas of the French Revolution. He did not realize that the country he dreamt of did not exist, that there was no place on earth where a people could live like the organic national body he had in mind and that the real historical development of a nation does not take place inside the closed walls of a biological entity. And even if there had been a country without a people and even if questions of foreign policy had not arisen in Palestine itself, Herzl's brand of political philosophy would still have given rise to serious difficulties in the relations of the new Jewish state with other nations.

EVEN more unrealistic but just as influential was Herzl's belief that the establishment of a Jewish state would automatically wipe out anti-Semitism. This belief was based on his assumption of the essential honesty and sincerity of the anti-Semites, in whom he saw nothing but nationalists pure and simple. This point of view may have been appropriate before the end of the 19th century, when anti-Semitism did actually derive more or less from the feeling that Jews were strangers within any given homogeneous society. But by Herzl's own time anti-Semitism had become transformed into a political weapon of a new kind and was supported by the new sect of racists whose loyalties and hatreds did not stop at national boundaries.

The fault in Herzl's approach to anti-Semitism lay in the fact that the anti-Semites he had in view were hardly extant any more—or if they were, they no longer

determined anti-Semitic politics. The real anti-Semites had become dishonest and wanted to preserve the availability of the Jew as a scapegoat in case of domestic difficulties; or else, if they were "honest," they wanted to exterminate the Jews wherever they happened to live. There was no escape from either variety of anti-Semite into a promised land "whose upbuilding"—in Weizmann's words—"would be the answer to anti-Semitism."

The upbuilding of Palestine is indeed a great accomplishment and could be made an important and even decisive argument for Jewish claims in Palestine—at least a better and more convincing one than the current pleas that argue our desperate situation in Europe and the justifiability, therefore, of the "lesser injustice" that would be done to the Arabs. But the upbuilding of Palestine has little to do with answering the anti-Semites; at most it has "answered" the secret self-hatred and lack of self-confidence on the part of those Jews who have themselves consciously or unconsciously succumbed to some parts of anti-Semitic propaganda.

The third thesis of Herzl's political philosophy was the Jewish state. Though for Herzl himself this was certainly the most daring and attractive facet of the whole, the demand for a state seemed neither doctrinaire nor utopian at the time his book was first published. In Herzl's view reality could hardly express itself in any other form than that of the nation-state. In his period, indeed, the claim for national self-determination of peoples was almost self-evident justice as far as the oppressed peoples of Europe were concerned, and so there was nothing absurd or wrong in a demand made by Jews for the same kind of emancipation and freedom. And that the whole structure of sovereign national states, great and small, would crumble within another fifty years under imperialist expansion and in the face of a new power situation, was more than Herzl could have foreseen. His demand for a state has been made utopian only by more recent Zionist policy—which did not ask for a state at a time when it might have

been granted by everybody, but did ask for one only when the whole concept of national sovereignty had become a mockery.

Justified as Herzl's demand for a Jewish state may have been in his own time, his way of advancing it showed the same unrealistic touch as elsewhere. The opportunism with which he carried on his negotiations to this end stemmed from a political concept that saw the destinies of the Jews as completely without connection with the destinies of other nations, and saw Jewish demands as unrelated to all other events and trends. Although the demand for a state could be understood in his period only in terms of national self-determination, Herzl was very careful not to tie the claims for Jewish liberation to the claims of other peoples. He was even ready to profit by the minority troubles of the Turkish empire and he offered the rulers of that empire Jewish aid in coping with them. In this instance Herzl's was the classical example of a policy hard-boiled enough to seem "realistic," but in reality completely utopian because it failed to take into account either one's own or the other party's relative strength.

The constant miscalculations that were to become so characteristic of Zionist policy are not accidental. The universality with which Herzl applied his concept of anti-Semitism to all non-Jewish peoples made it impossible from the very beginning for the Zionists to seek truly loyal allies. His notion of reality as an eternal, unchanging hostile structure—all *goyim* everlasting against all Jews—made the identification of hard-boiledness with realism plausible because it rendered any empirical analysis of actual political factors seemingly superfluous. All one had to do was use the "propelling force of anti-Semitism," which, like "the wave of the future," would bring the Jews into the promised land.

TODAY reality has become a nightmare. Looked at through the eyes of Herzl, who from the outside sought a place inside reality into which the Jews could fit and where at

the same time they could isolate themselves from it—looked at in this way, reality is horrible beyond the scope of the human imagination and hopeless beyond the strength of human despair. Only when we come to feel ourselves part and parcel of a world in which we, like everybody else, are engaged in a struggle against great and sometimes overwhelming odds, and yet with a chance of victory, however small, and with allies, however few—only when we recognize the human background against which recent events have taken place, knowing that what was done was done by men and therefore can and must be prevented by men—only then will we be able to rid the world of its nightmarish quality. That quality taken in itself and viewed from the outside—by people who consider themselves as cut off from the nightmarish world in principle and who are thus ready to accept the course of that world "realistically"—can inhibit all action and exclude us altogether from the human community.

Herzl's picture of the Jewish people as surrounded and forced together by a world of enemies has in our day conquered the Zionist movement and become the common sentiment of the Jewish masses. Our failure to be surprised at this development does not make Herzl's picture any truer—it only makes it more dangerous. If we actually are faced with open or concealed enemies on every side, if the whole world is ultimately against us, then we are lost.

For Herzl's way out has been closed—his hope in an escape from the world and his naive faith in appeasement through escape have been rendered illusory. *Altneuland* is no longer a dream. It has become a very real place where Jews live together with Arabs and it has also become a central junction of world communications. Whatever else it may be, Palestine is not a place where Jews can live in isolation, nor is it a promised land where they would be safe from anti-Semitism. The simple truth is that Jews will have to fight anti-Semitism everywhere or else be exterminated everywhere. Though Zionists no longer regard anti-Semitism as

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an ally, they do, however, seem to be more convinced than ever that to struggle against it is hopeless—if only because we would have to fight the whole world.

The danger of the present situation—in which Herzl's Zionism is accepted as a matter of course as the determinant of Zionist policy—lies in the semblance to common-sense that the recent experiences of the Jews in Europe have lent Herzl's philosophy. Beyond doubt, the center of Jewish politics today is constituted by the remnants of European Jewry now in the camps of Germany. Not only is all our political activity concentrated upon them—even more important is the fact that our whole political outlook springs of necessity from their experiences, from our solidarity with them.

Every one of these surviving Jews is the last survivor of a family, every one of them was saved only by a miracle, every one of them has had the basic experience of witnessing and feeling the complete breakdown of international solidarity. Among all those who were persecuted, only Jews were singled out for certain death. What the Nazis or the Germans did was not decisive in this connection; what was decisive was the experiences of the Jews with the majority of all the other nationalities and even with the political prisoners in the concentration camps. The question is not whether the non-Jewish anti-fascists could have done more than they actually did for their Jewish comrades—the essential point is that only the Jews were sent inevitably to the gas chambers; and this was enough to draw a line between them that, perhaps, no amount of good will could have erased. For the Jews who experienced this, all Gentiles became alike. This is what lies at the bottom of their present strong desire to go to Palestine. It is not that they imagine they will be safe there—it is only that they want to live among Jews alone, come what may.

Another experience—also of great importance to the future of Jewish politics—was gained from the realization, not that six million Jews had been killed, but that they had been driven to death helplessly, like

cattle. There are stories telling how Jews tried to obviate the indignity of this death by their attitude and bearing as they were marched to the gas chambers—they sang or they made defiant gestures indicating that they did not accept their fate as the last word upon them.

What the survivors now want above all else is the right to die with dignity—in case of attack, with weapons in their hands. Gone, probably forever, is that chief concern of the Jewish people for centuries: survival at any price. Instead, we find something essentially new among Jews, the desire for dignity at any price.

As great an asset as this new development would be to an essentially sane Jewish political movement, it nevertheless constitutes something of a danger within the present framework of Zionist attitudes. Herzl's doctrine, deprived as it now is of its original confidence in the helpful nature of anti-Semitism, can only encourage suicidal gestures for whose ends the natural heroism of people who have become accustomed to death can be easily exploited. Some of the Zionist leaders pretend to believe that the Jews can maintain themselves in Palestine against the whole world and that they themselves can persevere in claiming everything or nothing against everybody and everything. However, behind this spurious optimism lurks a despair of everything and a genuine readiness for suicide that can become extremely dangerous should they grow to be the mood and atmosphere of Palestinian politics.

There is nothing in Herzlian Zionism that could act as a check on this; on the contrary, the utopian and ideological elements with which he injected the new Jewish will to political action are only too likely to lead the Jews out of reality once more—and out of the sphere of political action. I do not know—nor do I even want to know—what would happen to Jews all over the world and to Jewish history in the future should we meet with a catastrophe in Palestine. But the parallels with the Sabbatai Zevi episode have become terribly close.

EVERYMAN AMID THE STEREOTYPES

Needed: "A Revolution of the Spirit of Man"

WILLIAM A. ORTON

THIS article is the sixth in the series "The Crisis of the Individual," which already includes articles by Reinhold Niebuhr, Leo Lowenthal, Hannah Arendt, John Dewey and Pearl Buck, published in previous issues. The series aims to find out what answers a number of leading thinkers here and abroad can offer to this basic issue of our times.

The physical and spiritual dignity of the human being has in this age been debased on a scale and in a measure unprecedented for

ONE sentiment at least I share with those who planned this series on The Crisis of the Individual: I am very tired of ideologues and ideologies. Of course, in the spring even the ageing professorial mind lightly turns to thoughts of—well, in this case, to thoughts of how the smelts are running in a certain rocky creek down east, and the feel of that ice-cold water on your arms as you scoop up a supper in the approved manner. Then, too, allowance must be made for the fact

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centuries. "Why?" "Where did Western civilization go wrong?" "Is the crisis due to the abuse of technology, the failure of religion—or what?"

THESE are among the questions the series will try to answer. Future contributors to the series will include: Leo S. Baeck, Martin Buber, Lewis Corey, Irwin Edman, Louis Finkelstein, Waldo Frank, André Gide, Sidney Hook, Hans Kohn and Michael Polanyi.

that ideologies are the modern teacher's stock-in-trade, and there come times when the entire inventory seems so drab and shop-worn that one would mark it down at a very big discount in a spring sale.

At such times it would be appropriate to stand on the sidewalk and chant with Gertrude Stein: A rose is a rose is a rose is a rose. . . . But is it? I am sure that to some of my more ideological colleagues it is the sort of funny machine that Klee used to draw, and when the poor rose tries to join in the chorus, its lovely little voice is not even audible. Was it not Hobbes who remarked that if he had read as many books as other people he supposed he would be as ignorant as they were?

Last evening there was a meeting of one of the faculty clubs (stag) with some quite learned and brilliant men present. The dinner was good, the paper at least provocative, and the discussion better than usual. Towards midnight we emerged, smelling strongly of cigarette smoke, into a wonderful night, with the moon brilliant in its first quarter and the stars shining with that stereoscopic effect they have in an exceptionally clear air, so that one can perceive the depth of space. The proper thing would have been to drop the hat and the briefcase and perform a solemn dance on the frozen

turf. That is what natural man would have done, and in times past, did.

Instead we jammed ourselves into small boxes on wheels dragged along empty streets by internal combustion engines. And it seemed as if that had been our situation all the evening. Most of us had been using "our" words, "our" ideas, to conceal ourselves from ourselves and from one another, in the sincere conviction that that was the proper thing to do—much as the 18th century used to dress itself up. To do anything else would have been bad form, and quite risky. How could one possibly take the chance of exposing oneself, sans wig, ruffles or crinoline, to what the other person might think of one? Not only oneself, but the spectator, would be acutely embarrassed; and moreover, it would be very difficult, for most of us are really sewed into our clothes.

So we dance our sequestered pavane to a thin little music that sounds like Dali's ants creeping round his kitchen sink of a soul; and if we try to go any faster something rips.

Do we really have individual shapes of our own? Or are our souls like 19th-century women's bodies that actually changed their shape with changing fashions? And are some of the fashions running counter to wholesome life, making, say, for swelled heads and shrunken hearts, heavy feet and spindly legs, callous hands and myopic eyes? This much is certain: a very large part of what passes for current thought consists in the pushing around of a set of second-hand stereotypes; and the average mind (which includes the academic mind) is stocked with figures taken from the cartoon and the comic strip. Such figures—although, unfortunately, they interbreed—are highly abstract. A. N. Whitehead pointed out ten years ago that abstraction, or abstractness, is the characteristic of common thought; it takes a trained mind to think concretely and realistically. One suspects indeed that only a minority of people—at any rate, among city-dwellers—either do

or can receive much experience of life at firsthand; it is all abstracted and categorized before it registers.

And the devil in it is that the abstractions carry a terrific emotional charge; that is why they are common, perhaps indeed it is emotional frustration that creates them. It is not genuine emotion, it is not honestly come by: it is *ersatz*, of a peculiarly dangerous kind: it is the herd, the mob. An urgent doubt arises not only as to whether we can call our thoughts our own, but as to whether we can call our emotions our own; and a vicious circle is set up. The *ersatz* emotion forestalls our apprehending things and people as they really are, and so prevents our having any reality to think about.

How many millions of people today, meeting a stranger, are tacitly asking themselves, "Is he Jewish?" And if they think he is, the stereotype instantly takes charge of their avenues of perception, so that they are rendered almost incapable of ever knowing and appreciating that human being. You will find that same blocking not only in race relations, but between Protestants and Roman Catholics, "isolationists" and "interventionists," "capital" and "labor" (note how abstract the terms are) and many other more or less distinct groupings. The result is to make the demarcation lines appear much sharper than they really are, and to diminish the will and even the desire to speak across them.

II

THE inadequacy of our current attempts to control and harmonize collective life needs no emphasis; nor does the danger in which it has landed us.

Let me say frankly that I have no general thesis to add to the number of such that are being urged, and I doubt whether talking about it all does much good—save in one respect. Increasing individual awareness may itself be useful in this particular sphere, inasmuch as the very nature of the problem calls for the reassertion of the individual against the mob. If in reply you

say that the individual as such can accomplish nothing, I am tempted to answer that that is perhaps the most dangerous stereotype of the lot. How do you know? Can he not at least accomplish something for himself? And is that nothing?

Looking back over the tentative observations of many years, I find myself reverting again and again to what, I now think, is an incontestable fact: the thinness of the average individual life-experience.

That is a difficult thing to demonstrate because it implies comparison; so let me begin with the least demonstrable aspect of it, in an assertion that many readers will consider arbitrary. The fine edge of ordinary sense-perception is now generally blunted. The average person of today has not the same capacity for immediate sense-experience that his parents and grandparents had, especially in regard to nature. He may be able to recall a stanza or two of, say, Keats' *Ode to a Nightingale*, and he may even have listened to a nightingale. But he has never heard Keats's nightingale. He does not have, and probably cannot have, any direct knowledge of what Keats was talking about, and he cannot comprehend the poem as his parents did. He may perhaps, in college, have read Pater's *Child in the House*, or some of those marvelous nature passages in *Marius*, or some of Stevenson's autobiographic essays, or the work of W. H. Hudson or Katherine Mansfield. He has "read" some of these—but he has never experienced anything like the directness of sheer sensory perception that underlies them, except perhaps in childhood—and even that I doubt.

I doubt it very much. I do not believe the "modern" child ever sees a flower, a tree, a wave, a cloud, as completely or intensely as the child of forty years ago. I am certain the adolescent does not. At a very early age the abstract environment takes charge (all machinery is an abstraction) and the natural rhythms that relate the body to the material world are distorted—including the sense of duration. So, inevitably, are the imagination and the dream material.

If you want to experience nature you must get into it; you must at least walk or climb; the utmost that can safely be allowed in the way of apparatus is a horse or a bicycle. In an automobile, no matter to what fine places you may go, you do not get anywhere because you do not do any getting.

And if you want to make something of your environment (but why after all should you?) you must stay in one place, become "attached to" one specific bit of the world. Americans are ceaselessly on the move, from year to year and generation to generation, though the Lord knows where they think they are going. Perhaps they are merely running away from themselves, and mortally afraid of being left behind: they might find themselves alone, and what modern can stand that? Let's get together. For heaven's sake, why?

Lots of suburban women begin every day by looking at the advertisements, and go into town every day to look at the shops. When they are tired of looking at the shops they look at a movie; some of the smarter ones look at an art show. Coming home they may look at a book, or more probably a digest of a book (very few people actually read books); endlessly in between whiles they look at themselves. The returning male mixes a few cocktails to tide over that vague emptiness of life which besets one when the daily drive is over. If there is nothing arranged for the evening a problem arises: how to fill up the few hours of leisure. For the adolescents that is a problem to be solved only along the lines of the Coca Cola ads; and the grownups are not so very different. Yes, the average life-experience is certainly a little thin; it contains extraordinarily few sources either of quietness or of joy.

THERE are compensating excitements, of course; mostly *ersatz*. The movies, going modern, with the aid of skilful direction and clever music, can make crime or surgery or psychoanalysis or alcoholism or even religion so much more exciting than those things usually are. We ask them to by

our patronage; they readily comply. And as for sex—dare it be hinted that very few human specimens, male or female, are under any circumstances whatever quite as absorbing, alluring, exciting, as their prototypes in shadowland? There is true comedy in the situation of the young woman who has learned to expect that all the bells in heaven would celebrate the advent of some ordinary male, is puzzled by the fact that she cannot really hear them, and unhappily wonders what she ought to do next in such an unprecedented dilemma.

But anyway, Time Marches On—to the accompaniment of the barker's voice and the big drum (hollow things make most noise); and "the news" provides the excitement, the emotion, the sense of significance and dramatic crisis that the average life-experience so persistently lacks. Look at some of the title-frames: empty uniforms marching nowhere; blurred figures dashing aimlessly through air, smoke or water; mechanical power on the rampage; burning buildings falling down or blowing up; destruction on the loose; nasty children throwing gigantic firecrackers—all to induce a proper mood of receptivity for "the news."

Somewhere, somehow, somewhy, great things are happening every day, the Drama of Life is going on, and our unsatisfying individual lives are finding fulfilment in a pageant of violent action and blah-blah-blah that is so much more significant than it looks or sounds. Isn't it grand? Who does not know that feeling of slight disappointment when the morning or evening newspaper fails to produce a scare headline? What layout man or caption writer does not know that his job depends on keeping the bloody pot boiling? People have to have it that way because they need it that way. Put on the screen a quiet masterpiece like *The River*, and the high-school kids will hoot and yowl; run a paper and eschew scare headlines and you will go broke, as many good editors and proprietors have done. We have to have it hot and strong because our actual experience of life is so thin. We have to personify and hypostatize

and emote because our little souls are starved.

Accordingly, the approach to every public question moves over a latent hysteria (Mr. Churchill's Fulton speech provided striking evidence of that) and the way events shape up is the reflection of the way we want them to shape up. On the emotional plane, where the abstractions and stereotypes are formed, peace, goodwill, mutual understanding and accommodation have no attraction for the majority of people—not because people are bad, but because they are bored. Of course we agree with all that the leaders say about peace and harmony—but won't it be thrilling to see the pictures of the atom explosions next June (or whenever it happens), even though all we intend to destroy are some poor sheep and cattle; and what a thrill when we have to drop the new bombs on—well, take your choice: we are a great and righteous people with the most excellent intentions, and there is quite a variety of foreign villains to get indignant about. You never know what may happen, so we have to be prepared (with our growing stockpile). Prepared for what? Death. Just that, ladies and gentlemen: nothing new, after all, but a little more of it.

III

THE somnambulist, dreaming, can fall down real stairs and break his real neck. The neurotic, releasing his private tensions, can smash any amount of public property. The psychopath, quite out of touch with reality, can none the less make reality uninhabitable.

I am not for a moment suggesting that the social and "ideological" issues of our time are unreal, or any less critical than we fear; what I raise in question is our ability to comprehend and grapple with them as they really are. Are we fit, as the individual components of a democracy, to face our world? I suggest that we are spiritually—or, if you prefer, psychologically—in very poor condition, and that we need to go into training. What sort of training?

Whatever sort it be, it will take time: not

perhaps a long time as history reckons time, but a long time in terms of the popular perspective, which expects cures and miracles overnight: a long time in the view of those who expected the League of Nations to achieve world order in a couple of decades, and were content to see it torpedoed as soon as it denounced a new imperialism.

One of the alarming features of current democracy is its loss of memory. People do not recall what happened six months or a year ago, let alone a generation ago. In the recent excitement over Iran scarcely any writer referred even to events as recent as the expulsion of Riza Shah in 1941 or the Anglo-American oil agreement of 1944; the Anglo-Russian partition of Persia in 1907 was totally below the horizon, though its geography sheds a good deal of light on Russian policy. This loss of memory entails an inability to feel, think or plan in historical time, even at the top political levels. There is a marked contrast here to the 19th century, and it is connected with the rise of demagogues. All abiding achievement takes place in historical time, not newspaper and radio time, and the genuine statesman knows it. But the statesman cannot work alone; he must be supported by a sufficient group of men whose perspective tallies roughly with his own, even though their immediate aims may differ.

Consider how long it took for England to achieve the emancipation of Catholics and Dissenters, or the right of free association for wage earners. Just seventy years elapsed between the publication of Adam Smith's great plea for freedom of trade and its legislative triumph; and the movement, like all such campaigns, was kept going by the conscious persistent effort of able men whose horizon was not limited by their own mortality. It was not the *Zeitgeist* at work, it was not the legendary law of economic determinism, it was human intelligence in operation against a mountain of obstacles.

It took roughly three generations of acquisitive materialism to land the world in its present mess, and it may take as long to get it back on the highway. It cannot be

less than two, for a very simple reason. We are talking not about theories but about attitudes, conative impulses, value-systems. Nearly all the teachers, writers, shapers of mood and opinion now at work are people whose minds and tempers are already set in the mold of the recent past. Some of us may achieve a good deal of self-criticism, may see rather clearly what is wrong and less clearly what would be better. But the utmost we can achieve is to give the younger generation a push on the road to it; our impact, like our vision, is very limited, and we cannot carry enough of the people enough of the way. We must wait for and work for the rising generation of thinkers and teachers, who may be capable (given the initial push) of a more radical and vigorous idealism, and in greater number. Then they in turn may be able to infect a mass big enough to achieve prudent and effective action. You will find that nearly all abiding change in history has demanded this intermediate generation. Once in a rare while something extraordinary happens to speed up the process (perhaps some such thing is happening now) but a couple of generations is a very short time in which to render Western man fit to be trusted with even his present potential. If Western society survives the next five years, we may consider ourselves, here in America, embarked on such an enterprise.

During that period—as I have insisted throughout the past decade—an adventurous or Palmerstonian foreign policy would be the height of folly. We have not got, as yet, the human material to make a beneficent success of it—look at the faces! Not merely do we not know enough about the English, the French, the Germans, the Russians, the Spanish and Latin Americans, to make them over by physical force into the image of God (or Uncle Sam): we do not know enough about ourselves. We shall not become the great people that we can be and are meant to be by working extensively over the morass of power politics; we shall work intensively, defending and developing our own great heritage, that we may achieve

not only for ourselves, but for all the world, things comparable to what Europe gave us in its dying agony—of which, so far, we have too few to show. Our task, our duty, our mission, are here at hand; and our responsibility is very heavy.

IV

WHAT sort of training? A teacher naturally tends to talk about education. Just now all the teachers are talking and writing about education, but without getting much nearer agreement as to what they mean by the term. The newly appointed head of an Eastern college announced recently that "the morning newspaper ought to be in every classroom." To hell with the morning newspaper! Every effective educational system the world has known has been directed to the integration of the developing personality within a coherent system of values, manners and morals. That cannot be achieved through a collection of contemporary studies, or through any collection of studies aimed solely at the contemporary. As one of Britain's leading historians said recently, the use of history is not simply to "throw light upon the present" but to stretch the mind and imagination, open up unfamiliar vistas of experience, and turn knowledge into wisdom.

Let us follow Dr. Trevelyan a little farther:

In the days of our own grandfathers, and for many generations before them, the basis of education was the Greek and Roman classics for the educated, and the Bible for all. In the classical authors and in the Bible, history and literature were closely interwoven, and it is that circumstance which made the old form of education so stimulating to the thought and imagination of our ancestors. To read the classical authors and to read the Bible was to read at once the history and the literature of the three greatest races of the ancient world. . . . I fear that today the study both of the classics and of the Bible has dwindled to small proportions. What has taken their place? . . . Part of the lacuna has been filled up by rubbish.

With the loss of the humanist tradition,

some effort was made to devise a new integrative principle on the basis of 19th-century rationalism. The effort persists in certain quarters; what it has accomplished you may discover in the latest works of Mr. H. G. Wells or the recent pronouncements of the atomic scientists. Today we have no generally accepted principle or purpose of education, and the current reports of the institutions of learning are designed to convey that fact as tactfully as possible so as not to alarm the stockholders. There is a lot of talk in those reports about "values," but you will seek in vain for a coherent system. You may read a good deal about open-mindedness; but it is unfortunately true, as Trevelyan hints, that if you keep your mind sufficiently open people will throw a lot of rubbish into it. The only common note is an echo of the American passion for information; but there is an undertone of scepticism about even that, coming from those who wonder, not unreasonably, what is the use of it.

I was talking, several years ago, with a couple of young Russians recently arrived here for further study. They asked whether American students knew anything about Russian literature. O yes, I assured them, many of our own students did; one of the classes right now was studying Dostoievsky. The response was unexpected: a mixture of amusement and exasperation. How could healthy American adolescents have the remotest idea of what Dostoievsky was talking about? Perhaps my Russians were right; and then again, perhaps it does not matter. But very recently one of my students told me she was studying Italian. Had she read any Dante? Yes, they were tracing the historical allusions in some passages of the *Inferno*, and it was very interesting. Did she know the *Vita Nuova*? No, she had never come across that. I was tempted to enlarge on my limited (but very precious) acquaintance with the Ricci edition; but then I thought, No: how could you have the remotest idea of what Dante was talking about? How could you hope to follow the translation of that "very youthful angel".

to the climax of the Divine Comedy? How could you, fair child, ever understand that it might have been you? That is something you will never learn—here in this classroom. . . . But perhaps that does matter.

To stretch the facilities, to educate the imagination, the sympathies, the emotions and the will, to foster and fructify the dynamic urges—how to do that? I can say only this about it here: it involves directed activity, and it involves discipline. It involves work, in short—for that is what work is. There is far too much passive cerebration, too much sitting. Lots of the young people in high schools and colleges would be getting a better education as apprentices to a trade, with opportunity for as much study as they really had a mind to. Lots more should be spending half their time in active service to their communities, eliminating ugliness and waste, making parks and gardens and bicycle paths, building hostels and clubhouses, creating their own bond with society by doing something for it—for that is the only way in which true sociality is achieved.

Incidentally, there is a moral training here. You can be dishonest in a classroom examination and it may not seem to matter very much. But if you are digging a ditch or setting type or weaving a fabric or making a bench the job is either well done or it isn't; you can fool neither yourself nor anyone else. And there is a curious connection in aesthetics between honesty and beauty.

Again incidentally, the one way to dissolve class or national or racial snobbery is to set people to work together at something that is worth their while, something noble enough to eliminate the herd instinct. One wonders whether Europe will ever be given the chance to learn that lesson. "Noble" here does not mean high-falutin; draining a swamp, clearing and sweetening scrub-land, building a dam or a highway, are nobler tasks than adding to the profits of the movie industry, no matter how much fancy architecture the latter can command. Common work creates community, provided its ob-

ject does not make personality a cipher. Common interest creates community, provided it is genuine personal interest and not the expression of a stereotype.

I am very weary of these group discussions of the "race problem," for example, with their constipated psychology and everyone on his best behavior, which always result in driving deeper the sense of difference because that is precisely what the meeting is all about. But gather a group of people who are actively interested in the ballet, or boatbuilding, or poetry, or psychoanalysis, or rock gardens, or what have you, and race consciousness evaporates in the ardent atmosphere. The trouble is that there are not enough people interested in anything to that degree: that is why the stereotypes take charge. (Perhaps the reader will pardon a digression for a good example of the stereotype in charge. Many years ago, talking with Ruth St. Denis, I asked if in her teaching experience she had noticed that some types were much more gifted than others. Yes certainly, she said; and I waited for her to add that the Jewish girls were naturally the more talented. Not at all. She said that whenever she found a really gifted young dancer, there was always latent aesthetic ability in the mother.)

I am not, of course, denying that thinking and talking about large domestic or international issues, and training for such activity, is a legitimate and useful vocation. I make my living out of it, and I do my best to give good value. But I am very certain that the number of people, young or old, for whom that is the most suitable vocation is much exaggerated, and that for a high proportion even of them preparation at a wider and deeper level would be an advantage.

Can I be the only women's club lecturer who has faced an amiable afternoon audience with the feeling, "Well, nothing that I can say is going to make any appreciable difference to these people, so there's no point in affronting their native biological optimism?" But even in the highest intellectual circles how often have I seen fine and able

men loading up their ideological ships with a heavier cargo of hopes and dreams and passions than such craft can possibly carry! Sad indeed it is to see the wealth of idealism and aspiration that only a full cultural and religious tradition could utilize staked on the vicissitudes of a political system that is already doomed and damned beyond redemption.

V

WHAT we need," said Ibsen in his old age, "is a revolution of the spirit of man." He could not be much interested in any lesser type of revolution. A good many of us are now suspecting that it is futile to bank too heavily on schemes, committees, organizations, programs, blueprints, while we remain essentially the same sort of people that we are. The deepening and enrichment of the personal life precede, logically and chronologically, the reconstruction of society; otherwise we lack the material and the motive power to realize our vague ideals of peace, freedom, security, opportunity and the rest of the fine words. It is no use for our architects to design a house of steel and gold when all they have to work with is green lumber.

Very easily we discern the deficiencies, the blunders, the perversities of other people; the famous parable on the subject does not suggest that those are illusions. They are there, right enough. What we find it hard to admit is that if we were in the place of those other people, we should probably be doing pretty much what they are; yet that admission is necessary before we can deal constructively with the situation. My students, representing the middle bourgeoisie, are shocked to be told that if they had grown up in the Germany of the late 1920's most of them would have belonged to the Nazi youth movement. It is a fact, and they will not understand the German problem until they take it in. After that, the problem will still be there, but the approach will be realistic instead of abstract.

And so all round the map; we cannot hope

to solve the really troublesome problems until we are able to see what they look like through the other fellow's eyes. Just now Russian tactics and diplomacy (if it can be called that) are creating a good deal of annoyance; but from the Russian point of view—whether Czarist or Stalinist makes no difference—it is preposterous that the largest integrated land-mass in the world should have no major outlet to the ocean highways save under the muzzles of other people's guns. And was it really wise (no doubt it was clever) of the British and Americans, these past few years, quietly to arrange to control between them the entire oil reserves of the Middle East? If the Russian leaders could be convinced of our practical cooperation in the solution of their quite practical problems, there might still be a risk as to what they would do next; but would it be a greater risk than is now involved in our insistence on our way of viewing their situation? Does that insistence offer any final solution?

Whatever the late Willkie may have said, the average person, here or elsewhere, does not live in "one world," and never will; he lives, practically and concretely, in a very specific locality. But if his emotional and mental attitude to all the rest of life is circumscribed as at present, he will go on applauding dramatic anachronisms, and elect leaders who make fetishes out of his own stereotypes.

While the 20th century may so far have been the century of the common man, it will take some very uncommon men to salvage the remaining half of it; and it is not enough to wait passively for them to appear, and to hope we shall recognize them if they do. I have suggested, as one way among others toward a brighter future, that we think a little more about the quality and the range of our own life-experience, prepare ourselves for the great change that is surely coming.

For perhaps it is we ourselves, rather than the poor politicians and the scheming diplomats, that are holding it up.

POET OF THE JEWISH MIDDLE CLASS

Clifford Odets Voices Its Conflicts and Frustrations

ROBERT S. WARSHOW

Before migrating to America, all the ethnic groups of Yankee City possessed a family pattern of the patriarchal type in which the wife was subordinated to the husband and the children to the father. America has disrupted this pattern, increasing the wife's independence and making the children carriers of the new culture—a role that has brought them into open conflict with their parents. Among Jews these developments manifested themselves in their most extreme form.

—“The Jews of Yankee City”
(COMMENTARY, January 1946).

THE literary treatment of American Jewish life has always suffered from the psychological commitments of Jewish writers. Their motives are almost never pure: they must dignify the Jews, or plead for them, or take revenge upon them, and the picture they create is correspondingly distorted by romanticism or sentimentality or vulgarity. The romantic-sentimental picture, which endows the Jews with superior wisdom and an exaggerated spirituality, is typified in an earlier stage by the movie *The Jazz Singer*. It appears in more dignified form in Elmer Rice's *Street Scene* and most recently in the Hollywood biography of George Gershwin. The vulgar exploitation of the Jews is more common; the work of Milt Gross is carried on for a later audience in the self-conscious burlesques of Arthur Kober and the banality of Leonard Q. Ross. A more serious and more

savage type of satire, focusing on the economic and social behavior of Jews, has appeared recently in the work of such writers as Jerome Weidman and Budd Schulberg, but their picture, if more honest, is still limited and superficial.

By a considerable margin, the most important achievement in the literature of the American Jews is that of Clifford Odets. No one else has been able to maintain that degree of confidence in the value of the exact truth which made his best work possible. His social understanding is limited, but he has been able to keep his eyes on reality and to set down his observations with great imagination and remarkable detachment. Jews are never commonplace to him—they are never commonplace to any Jew—but neither are they prodigies, either of absurdity or of pathos or of evil. He has perceived that they are human beings living the life which happens to be possible to them.

THE elements that make up for most American Jews the image of their group are to be found in the Jewish culture of New York City; more specifically, in the culture of the Jewish lower middle class, in the apartment houses and two-family houses of the Bronx and Brooklyn, among those who all these years have had to think mainly about getting along. Not all Jews actually participate in this culture—perhaps most do not—but almost all are intimately connected with it. The New York pattern is the master pattern, repeated in its main outlines wherever there is a large Jewish population. What is especially characteristic of other areas of Jewish life is often simply the extension of this; what

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appears most sharply opposed to it, or furthest away from it, is often the expression of a deliberate struggle against it.

The crucial fact is that there are few who cannot immediately recognize and understand its smallest forms of behavior, its accepted attitudes, its language. If it is not "Jewish life," strictly speaking, it is for most American Jews the area of greatest emotional importance. It is what a Jew remembers, it is what he has in his mind when he experiences his more private emotions about being a Jew—affection, pity, delight, shame. Just as the life of the small town can be said in some sense to embody the common experience of the older Americans, so the life of New York can be said at this particular stage in the process of acculturation to embody the common experience of the American Jews.

Clifford Odets is the poet of this life. In the body of his work so far, with its rather specious "development" and its persistent intellectual shallowness, the spectacular achievement which makes him a dramatist of importance is his truthful description of the New York Jews of the lower middle class.

Awake and Sing, his first full-length play, remains the most impressive. He has since become a more skilful dramatist, but his progress in theatrical terms has involved a loss in the simple observation of fact which is his greatest talent: he has become more superficial and more sentimental. His significant field of knowledge is among the Jews, and what he knows about the Jews is in *Awake and Sing*.

IN READING *Awake and Sing*, one is likely to be struck by its crudity: there is an illegitimate pregnancy and a hasty marriage, a life insurance policy, a suicide; the final curtain is brought down on a puerile note of "affirmation" (Odets has said, "New art works should shoot bullets"). But in the last analysis these crudities are of no great importance. The special experience of reading or seeing the play has nothing to do with the dramatics used to

make it progress through its three acts.

For the Jew in the audience, at least, the experience is recognition, a continuous series of familiar signposts, each suggesting with the immediate communication of poetry the whole complex of the life of the characters: what they are, what they want, how they stand with the world.

It is a matter of language more directly than anything else. The events of the play are of little consequence; what matters is the words of the characters—the way they talk as much as the things they say. Odets employs consistently and with particular skill what amounts to a special type of dramatic poetry. His characters do not speak in poetry—indeed, they usually become ridiculous when they are made to speak "poetically"—but the speeches put into their mouths have the effect of poetry, suggesting much more than is said and depending for the enrichment of the suggestion upon the sensibility and experience of the hearer. Many of the things said on the stage are startling for their irrelevance; they neither contribute to the progress of the plot nor offer any very specific light upon the character of the participants: the hearer supplies a meaning.

The peculiarity of this poetic process is that it operates exclusively between the writer and the audience; it is not in the play. The characters are in a state of ignorance, always saying something different from what they think they are saying. This differs from dramatic irony in the usual sense by the fact that the ignorance of the characters is essential instead of accidental: they *do* know what is happening in the play; what they *do not* know is what they are. In a sense they are continually engaged in giving themselves away.

The effect of the method is to increase the distance between the audience and the specific facts of the play, while bringing before the audience more clearly than is usual the general facts about Jews and Jewish life which the play illustrates.

The young son, Ralph, puts into one sentence the history of his frustration: "It's

crazy—all my life I want a pair of black and white shoes and can't get them. It's crazy!" The mother, Bessie, responds, betraying the bitterness of her relations with her children, the difficulty of her life, the general picture of what it must be like to live with her: "In a minute I'll get up from the table. I can't take a bite in my mouth no more." Demolishing an argument for the abolition of private property, she presents her concept of man's fate: "Noo, go fight City Hall!" She offers a scrap of worldly wisdom to justify her tricking a young man into marrying her daughter, already pregnant by another man: "Maybe you never heard charity begins at home. You never heard it, Pop?" The old man, Jacob, shows what his daughter is to him: "All you know, I heard, and more yet. . . . This is a house? Marx said it—abolish such families." Bessie's husband, Myron, demonstrates his ineffectuality: "This morning the sink was full of ants. Where they come from I just don't know. I thought it was coffee grounds . . . and then they began moving." A sentence exhibits his tenuous grasp on American culture: "My scalp is impoverished," he says, out of nowhere. Sam Feinschreiber, the unfortunate object of Bessie's choice for her daughter ("In three years he put enough in the bank . . ."), reacts to the news that the baby is not his own: "I'm so nervous—look, two times I weighed myself on the subway station." Uncle Morty, the successful dress manufacturer, replies to the suggestion that he might send a little more money to take care of his father: "Tell me jokes. Business is so rotten I could just as soon lay all day in the Turkish bath." Uncle Morty prepares to leave the house: "Where's my fur gloves?"

To the experienced ear, every speech tells again the whole story, every character presents over and over the image of his particular kind, the role of his kind in the culture which contains it. The characters are diminished as human beings in favor of their function as instruments of poetic evocation. Rich or poor, happy or not,

they serve their purpose. The responses called forth by the play are responses to the life of the Jews, to the psychological roots of one's own life, never to the individual lives of the people on the stage.

In the end you really get something like a direct apprehension of sociological truth, the whole picture built up out of the words spoken on the stage, the tones of speech and thought, all is added to the knowledge already possessed by the audience.

It is not the whole picture of the Jews; there is no whole picture of the Jews. And even as a partial picture it calls for some reservations. Assuming all necessary reservations, the picture might be called: what happened to the Jews in New York.

THE adult immigrant had some advantages. Whatever it was that drove him to come, he was able to carry with him a sense of his own dignity and importance. He had a kind of security, though it is a strange thing to say of a Jew. In Europe, with the club over his head, he had nevertheless lived in a community which was in important ways self-sufficient, and which permitted him to think of himself as a man of value: he was a scholar, or a revolutionist, at the very least he knew himself to be a more serious man than his Gentile persecutors. To be a Jew was a continual burden, even a misfortune, but it could not have seemed to him a joke or a disgrace.

He came off a boat, he had to find a job the very next day, and for the rest of his life he was likely to be taken up by the numberless techniques of getting by: how to make a dollar, how to pursue the infinitesimal advantages which made it possible for him to survive from day to day. The humiliation of his poverty and impotence was tremendous, but he was already equipped with a mechanism for separating from it some of the needs of his personality. In his own mind, and in the semi-European atmosphere he created in the synagogues or the cafés and radical groups, he could contrive for his sad life the appearance of a meaning that went beyond the everlasting

pettiness of which it actually consisted. He had a past.

For his children, helping after school with the family's piece-work or going themselves to work in the shops, and often suffering in addition under a savage moral discipline with no apparent relevance to the real world, the pretensions of the father could be nothing but nonsense. He could create in the minds of his children only an entirely generalized ideal of moral and intellectual superiority absolutely without content. (Bessie Berger: "I raise a family they should have respect.")

If the parents had a great deal of love and wisdom, or if the family made money soon enough, the children could sometimes arrive at a tolerable balance between dignity and economic pressure. But the familiar pattern was not often to be avoided: the children holding before them the image of a suffering and complaining mother and of a father whose life went on outside the home, who was somehow responsible—with his "ideas"—for the family's hardships. It was remembered with undying resentment that he had given money to the synagogue or the Party—to "make a show"—while his family went hungry, and the things he believed in came to represent a wilful refusal to understand the principle that charity begins at home. ("Go in your room, Papa. Every job he ever had he lost because he's got a big mouth. He opens his mouth and the whole Bronx could fall in. . . . A good barber not to hold a job a week.") If he made money at last, then his demonstrations of allegiance to the things he thought valuable might be received with more tolerance, even with pride, but they still remained for his children outside the area of practical life.

For his part, he was always disappointed in his children, and his sense of disappointment was often the only thing he could clearly communicate to them. He succeeded at least in becoming a reproach to them, and the bitterness of the personal conflict which ensued was aggravated by the fact that they could never quite see from what he derived

his superiority or what it was he held against them.

THE children took hold of what seemed to them the essential point—that they were living in a jungle. It would not be accurate to say that they failed to understand the rest; so far as they were concerned, the rest was not there to see, it had retired into the mind.

They tried to act reasonably. Every day they could see more clearly the basic truth: without a dollar you don't look the world in the eye. This truth was not for a moment welcome to them, they accepted it with all suitable reluctance, they doffed their hats continually in the direction of the "other things," but they really saw no alternative to following out the implications of what they knew. After all, their analysis of the situation was virtually a matter of life and death. ("Ralphie, I worked too hard all my years to be treated like dirt. . . . Summer shoes you didn't have, skates you never had, but I bought a new dress every week. A lover I kept—Mr. Gigolo! . . . If I didn't worry about the family who would? . . . Maybe you wanted me to give up twenty years ago. Where would you be now? You'll excuse my expression—a bum in the park!")

Between the facts as they saw them and the burden of undefined moral responsibility laid upon them by the father, no decision was possible. Money was at least effective, it could really solve their worst problems. It was what they *had* to have. What they wanted was not money, but it was nothing very definite. The best basis they could find for their life was a worldly compromise: money is filth, but money is all you'll ever get.

In general terms, the kind of life they established for themselves is not different from the characteristic life of the rest of their society: its primary concerns are economic security and social prestige; its day-dreams are of unlimited economic security and unassailable social prestige. ("Ralph should only be a success like you, Morty.

I should only live to see the day when he drives up to the door in a big car with a chauffeur and a radio. I could die happy, believe me.") Indeed, they were especially quick to perceive the underlying pattern of the society and to conform to it. Looking from the outside, and suffering from the hostility of those around them, they naturally understood the significant facts thoroughly; for Jews, that had always been one of the necessities of life.

But it was not merely a matter of a generation moving from one culture into another. As it happened, the newer culture had already come to a point where it was unable to provide much security or dignity even for those who indisputably belonged to it. Understanding was in this case a bar to adjustment, and the life of the Jews has been colored by their awareness of the terms of the compromise they have had to accept. Their frustration is part of a universal frustration, but their unhappiness is more acute because all along they have known what they were doing.

Sometimes their special situation gave them a kind of edge, as if they were a day older in history than everybody else. They were capable of phenomenal success. Errand boys made themselves into millionaires simply by shrewd and unremitting attention to the possibilities of capitalist enterprise. Entertainers, exploiting the contrast between what they were and what they wanted, found a huge audience suddenly ready to see the point. Hollywood became a gold mine, demonstrating that the Jews were not different from everybody else, only a little further along: they could feel the exact level to which culture had come.

Success made no essential difference. A million dollars was a great and wonderful thing—how can you refuse money if you don't know what would be better?—but they could never believe that it was really enough to make a man important. Uncle Morty says "Where's my fur gloves?" not to impress the others but to remind himself of how far he has come.

They wanted also to be good and wise

men. Having no frame of reference by which to attach a meaning to "good" and "wise," even a false meaning, they were forced to seek what assurance they could find in the tangible evidences they knew to be valueless: money, prestige, the intellectual superiority of one man to another. Thus from the complex of their fears and desires they evolved the three imperatives that govern them: be secure, be respected, be intelligent. In their world a dentist is better than a machinist, a doctor is better than a businessman, a college professor is best of all. But an unsuccessful intellectual is worse than an unsuccessful businessman: he should have known better than to try.

Their economic strength comes from their ability to act as the situation demands even though the situation is abhorrent to them. But the gap between moral man and the requirements of reality has seemed to them so wide that they have been able to function successfully only by imposing cynicism on themselves as a kind of discipline. They have gone further than most in the acceptance of reality, and this is perhaps the strongest kind of subversion—to take capitalism without sugar.

What it costs them is their characteristic mental insecurity, a mixture of self-pity and self-contempt. Self-pity because their way of life was forced upon them, self-contempt because they can accept no excuse.

"A WAKE AND SING" is a depression play, and its picture of Jewish life is sharper and more brutal than it would have been a few years earlier. The hidden framework of need and compulsion had come out. If it had ever been possible for the Jews to lull themselves completely in the material benefits of capitalism, that possibility was gone. With the depression, their painfully built structure of defenses shook and fell, respectability itself was threatened, and they looked again into the abyss of poverty, all the more frightening because it was so familiar, because they had given so much to get out of it.

The characters contemplate the meaninglessness of their lives. The image of their failure is constantly before them; they cannot contain themselves, they must burst out every minute in a fury of bitterness and impotence, justifying themselves, calling for pity, enveloping themselves and the world in indiscriminate scorn. They have ceased to communicate; each confronts his own unhappiness, using language primarily as an instrument of self-expression and a weapon of defense.

It is as if no one really listens to anyone else; each takes his own line, and the significant connections between one speech and another are not in logic but in the heavy emotional climate of the family.

RALPH: I don't know. . . . Every other day to sit around with the blues and mud in your mouth.

MYRON: That's how it is—life is like that—a cake-walk.

RALPH: What's it get you?

HENNIE: A four-car funeral.

RALPH: What's it for?

JACOB: What's it for? If this life leads to a revolution it's a good life. Otherwise it's for nothing.

BESSIE: Never mind, Pop! Pass me the salt.

RALPH: It's crazy—all my life I want a pair of black and white shoes and can't get them. It's crazy!

BESSIE: In a minute I'll get up from the table. I can't take a bite in my mouth no more.

MYRON: Now, Momma, just don't excite yourself—

BESSIE: I'm so nervous I can't hold a knife in my hand.

MYRON: Is that a way to talk, Ralphie?

Don't Momma work hard enough all day?

BESSIE: On my feet twenty-four hours?

MYRON: On her feet—

RALPH: What do I do—go to night clubs with Greta Garbo? Then when I come home can't even have my own room? Sleep on a day-bed in the front room!

BESSIE: He's starting up that stuff again. When Hennie here marries you'll have her room—I should only live to see the day.

HENNIE: Me too.

They live on top of one another, in that

loveless intimacy which is the obverse of the Jewish virtue of family solidarity, and their discontentment is expressed in continual and undisguised personal hostility. The son, Ralph, is in love:

BESSIE: A girl like that he wants to marry. A skinny consumptive . . . six months already she's not working—taking charity from an aunt. You should see her. In a year she's dead on his hands. . . . Miss Nobody should step in the picture and I'll stand by with my mouth shut.

RALPH: Miss Nobody! Who am I? Al Jolson?

BESSIE: Fix your tie!

RALPH: I'll take care of my own life.

BESSIE: You'll take care? Excuse my expression, you can't even wipe your nose yet! He'll take care!

Someone is slow about coming to the dining-room: "Maybe we'll serve for you a special blue-plate supper in the garden?" Morty responds to one of Jacob's dissertations on the class struggle: "Like Boob McNutt you know! Don't go in the park, Pop—the squirrels'll get you."

In a brilliant climax, Bessie Berger reveals the whole pattern of psychological and moral conflict that dominates her and her family: when Ralph discovers that his sister's husband was trapped into marriage, Bessie, confronted inescapably with her own immorality, and trembling before her son's contempt, turns upon her *father*, who has said nothing, and smashes the phonograph records that are his most loved possessions and the symbol of his superiority. This act of fury is irrelevant only on the surface: one understands immediately that Bessie has gone to the root of the matter.

Purposeless, insecure, defeated, divided within themselves, the Bergers made a life like a desert. The process which produced them was not iron-bound; one way or another, there were many who escaped. But the Bergers are important. The luckiest is not out of sight of them; no consideration of the Jews in America can leave them out; in the consciousness of most of us they do in some sense stand for "Jew."

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK: FAVORABLE IF—

First of a Series Presenting Differing Views

ROBERT R. NATHAN

THE importance of a sound and healthy economy to the strength and future of democratic life—as it concerns both the individual and his group relationships—is axiomatic. The changing currents of production, distribution, employment, income and wages, the ebb and flow of the broad tides of prosperity and depression—these constitute the climate in which liberties and the fuller life flourish or wither.

COMMENTARY is asking several recognized American economists of different schools of

thought to look at the economic prospect, both the short-range and the long-range, and to set down for our readers their views on what is today, and what they believe will be, the economic situation of the country. First contributor to this series is ROBERT R. NATHAN, one of the most influential of the "young New Dealers" in Washington during the Roosevelt administrations. Articles by Leo Wolman of Columbia University, and Fritz Sternberg of the New School for Social Research will follow.—ED.

ALMOST everyone will agree that a high standard of living, steady jobs, good wages and favorable profits are all extremely desirable. Likewise, there is unanimity as to the deplorable consequences of mass unemployment, business bankruptcy, mortgage foreclosures and collapsing values of assets. However, the relationship between either of these sets of circumstances and government or labor or business economic policies is apparently not so obvious and immediate to the average citizen as to render him fully conscious of the great im-

AMONG the important posts held by Mr. Nathan in the last decade were chief of the National Income Division of the Department of Commerce, consultant to the National Planning Board, chairman of the Planning Commission of the War Production Board and deputy director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Mobilizing for Abundance*, published in 1944, and *Palestine: Problem and Promise*, published in 1946. The latter is a report in which he collaborated with two other experts, based on a survey they made in 1945 of the economic potentialities of Palestine, for the American Palestine Institute. Born in Dayton, Ohio in 1908, Mr. Nathan was educated at the University of Pennsylvania and at Georgetown University, where he received a law degree. He is now head of Robert R. Nathan Associates, consulting economists, whose offices are in Washington, D. C.

portance which he must attach to appropriate economic policies. I suppose one must charge this fact to the economic illiteracy prevalent in our country, and that in turn to the economists and their ilk for so often couching their writings in high sounding technical "mumbo-jumbo."

It is my firm conviction that we can have the greatest sustained era of prosperity in American history in coming years and decades if we will only exercise collective intelligence in adopting proper policies on the economic front. Equally, it is my firm conviction that we will have recurring serious depressions which will bring not only frequent and severe hardship and privation but also the probable downfall of our free enterprise democratic society if we do not undertake intelligent economic planning.

It may not be possible to demonstrate clearly and conclusively the relationship between the economic well-being of the country and the well-being of minority groups. Yet on serious reflection there is an instinctive realization that the welfare of minorities is more seriously threatened in times of economic chaos and frustration than in times of economic prosperity and security. The masses are likely to follow the "man on the white horse" and to have faith in platitudes and rash promises of those who seek revo-

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lutionary change when they are unemployed or otherwise feel insecure. If all this be true, then it is certainly in the interest of all "minorities" in America, and perhaps Jews particularly, to give special concern to the matter of economic policies and economic plans designed to bring about a stable and prosperous future.

AN ANALYSIS and appraisal of economic prospects in the United States should be broken down into two categories. First, there is the short term or the period of transition from war to peace. Second, there is the longer-run problem of avoiding the wide and damaging fluctuations in business activity which have characterized our economy throughout our history. What is done in the short term greatly affects our longer-term prospects but there is a sufficient degree of differentiation to justify considering the two separately.

The progress in the physical or technological transition from war to peace has been rapid and satisfactory. In the few months that have elapsed since the termination of active hostilities, American industry has speedily shifted over its productive capacity from the production of weapons of war to the production of peacetime products. For a substantial segment of industry, the same type of goods were being produced during the war as will be produced in peace. Except for some modifications of design, colors, packaging and the like, this was true of the food, textile, truck, railroad equipment, raw material, construction equipment, machinery and many other industries. However, there are large segments of industry which have had to undergo major adjustments in machinery equipment, jigs and fixtures and channels of distribution. The speed with which these adjustments have been made is reminiscent of our wartime production accomplishments. With the exception of reconverting some of the new plants built during the war and the persistence of some of the military surpluses, the panorama of American industry has been transformed in only a few months

from a wartime to a peacetime picture.

Speed in the resumption of peacetime production has been retarded by industrial disputes, shortages of critical materials and components and by the time required for filling in the pipelines of production. Most of these obstacles are largely out of the way and in the immediate weeks ahead we should see a very sharp rise in the output of both consumer and producer goods and services. This does not mean, however, that there will soon be an abundance of products to meet all demands.

We have a huge backlog of unsatisfied wants as a result of the severe curtailment in the production of consumer goods and many types of capital equipment during the war. The American public did not truly suffer from want as a result of our tremendous war effort. By and large, we had our "guns and butter" too. Yet, there were many types of goods which we had to forego entirely or which were not available in quantities desired by consumers. The combination of these unsatisfied wants and the continued large flow of buying power plus unprecedented savings combine to make for a tremendous demand for commodities and services. For some products, it will be possible to achieve a reasonable balance between demand and supply almost immediately. For others, the balance may be years away, especially if total purchasing power is maintained at a high level. Many complex problems stem from this favorable demand situation.

THE most difficult and significant issues facing us in the transition period fall into three categories, namely, stabilization, labor relations and housing. There are a great many other economic problems which are of no small significance—disposition of surpluses, foreign relief and rehabilitation, the reestablishment of free and vigorous foreign trade, occupational retaining, stranded communities, taxation—but these three appear to be of first importance in the transition.

With respect to the problem of stabiliza-

tion, or wage and price control, it is my strong conviction that we must either continue to win the fight against inflation or we shall seriously shorten the ensuing period of prosperity. Should we permit a runaway price situation to develop over the next year, we shall probably encounter a sharp recession in business activity within the next twenty-four to thirty months. Where the margin of safety lies is somewhat a matter of conjecture but I would hazard the conclusion that if the cost of living in the United States increases as much as 15 per cent between now and the middle of 1947, we shall be well along the road toward the degree of inflation which will bring a very sharp drop in business activity, capital values and prices before the end of 1948.

We are no longer holding the price line in this country. It is not now a matter of avoiding higher prices but rather it is a matter of retarding the increase. Sharply rising prices are self-aggravating in that they tend to result in inordinate accumulations of inventories and widespread efforts to buy common stocks, real estate and other assets to participate in the appreciation of values and hedge against the declining worth of the dollar. Each group in society, the worker, the farmer, and the businessman, strives to get a higher monetary return so as to keep pace with or get ahead of the other groups. The race has started and only great courage and herculean efforts can hold it down to a "walk." I believe if we can keep the price level from increasing substantially over the next twelve months, we shall have avoided the most serious threats of inflation.

All this points toward the great need for extending price control for another year. It would be a national tragedy were our Congress to do away with price control prematurely. By the middle of 1947 the dangers of serious inflation should be largely confined to the areas of rent and building materials. There will still be unsatisfied wants for automobiles and some other selected durable goods. But by that date the

fires of inflation will be burning only in limited areas and general price control should no longer be needed.

The opponents of price control are inclined to incite fear in the minds of the public by intimating that there will be no time in the future when the adherents of price control will be willing to recommend its abolition. This is an irrational and unjust conclusion. Most of those who favor price control would now be willing to make a firm commitment against extension beyond the middle of 1947 with the possible exception of rent and maybe some building materials. In any case, the extension of price control is a "must" if we are to avoid a short boom and a sharp bust and to assure the opportunity for a more sustained period of prosperity.

ON THE labor front, the peak of the present difficulties appears to be past. There are still many areas of the economy in which postwar wage adjustments are to be made but the larger industries have already concluded their first wave of wage agreements. How long we are likely to have peace on the industrial front is problematic. As is usual in a period of heavy inflationary pressures, causes and effects follow closely in a vicious circle. Wages and prices chase each other up the circular stairway with increasing momentum. Unless there is some check en route they will surely stumble over the top step.

If there is a marked rise in the cost of living in the coming months, we can look for early pressure for further wage increases. On the other hand, if only moderate edging upward of the cost of living occurs, the next period of wage controversy will come when industry is operating at high rates and there will be a contest between labor and management as to the distribution of the spoils. As we reach high levels of peacetime production, unit costs should fall. There should be favorable profit conditions justifying higher wages of some limited magnitude. Of course, this condition will depend not only on the level of

total production but also on productivity per man hour.

Unless there has been some fundamental change in our economy, productivity should rise sharply in the next couple of years. Output per man hour did not increase in a great many industries during the war and in some industries it even declined. This can be traced to shifts in type of product, reliance on substitute material, the extraction from the civilian labor force of millions of our most productive young people and the entrance into the labor market of millions of persons who are not normally employed in economic activities. The wartime accumulation of technological developments should bring about a very sharp increase in productivity as we resume peacetime output. There was such a development after the last war. It is hoped that the same will occur again in which case further wage increases can be granted within the next year without corresponding price increases. Labor demands should be geared to higher production and lower unit costs rather than to higher prices. In other words, the increases in wages sought and attained by labor should come from reduced costs rather than result in higher prices. The latter would only bring about further inflation.

Certainly there is a great need for better understanding and improved relationships between labor and management. It is unfortunate that stoppages of work are necessary to achieve agreements between labor and management on wages. Yet in our free competitive society such basic conflicts have been reconciled only through disputes. Leaders of labor and of management should strive together to develop techniques and methods of reconciling their differences peacefully. Work stoppages mean production stoppages and that means less to consume. We should be able to get together with less damaging devices.

The third area of major concern in the transition period relates to housing. Throughout the depression of the 30's and the ensuing war period, the building of

homes lagged far behind the need. Today, with high buying power and accumulations of savings, the American people, and especially veterans, desperately strive to find adequate shelter. It is impossible that this demand can be immediately fulfilled. Wilson W. Wyatt, the Housing Expediter, has presented a program to the Congress and to the people of America which establishes goals of a most ambitious magnitude. They are not impossible of achievement but we must put the same drive and ingenuity into this program as we put into our war effort if the goals are to be achieved. The task is certainly not an impossible one but it is a difficult one. Even if these ambitious goals are fully achieved, not all housing demands can be met for several years.

The real estate and building materials industries want higher prices rather than premium payments and price controls. Their position is untenable in the present situation. Prices of construction have already risen too rapidly and too far. Still, without further control a much sharper increase is in prospect. We cannot build homes to satisfy the needs of the veterans and the American workers without a continuation of these controls.

Of all the fields of economic activity in this country there are few, if any, important ones in which technological progress and efficiency of output have moved ahead as slowly as in the field of construction. New types of materials, revolutionary methods of production and assembly, and major changes in structure are essential if adequate housing is to be available for the mass of American consumers at prices which they can afford. This is certainly one field in which the creative genius of American free enterprise is faced with tremendous challenges and great opportunities.

If we come through the next year without serious inflation and very damaging labor disputes, the question then arises: "What about the longer term?" There are good prospects that we may enjoy a period of great prosperity, sharply rising standards of

living, and full employment for three to five years. There is a tremendous amount of construction and of modernization which can support such a high level of activity. Consumer goods will be sought in unprecedented volume. There are the savings and the income to support such demands for a reasonable period. Further, the needs of foreign countries for rehabilitation and development are especially great. Given the possibility of financing these requirements through loans from the United States and the International Bank, foreign markets for American goods will be far beyond previous peaks.

Will we have a serious depression four or five years hence? That is by far the most important question of all. I believe that the answer lies in another question, namely, "Are we or are we not serious about achieving and maintaining full employment?"

It is just that simple and just that direct. Despite a small lingering minority, most of our economists have come to the conclusion that depressions—at least serious depressions—are not inevitable. In fact, most of our economists, especially the younger ones, are convinced that within the framework of the basic tenets of free enterprise and a competitive system, we can achieve continued high levels of activity and employment opportunities for all our people. They are convinced that this is more than a matter of wishful thinking. Further, most of them are convinced that it is not only a possibility but a necessity that such objectives be achieved if our system is to survive.

Forgetting for a moment the complexities of our economic system and all of the confusing jargon of economics, it should be obvious that there is no basic reason why large-scale unemployment should exist at any time. That we have the resources in the form of raw materials, equipment, power and the other tangible factors essential for abundance and sustained prosperity, there can be no doubt. We have fully demonstrated our productive capacity during the war. Our natural resources, coupled with our skills and our ingenuity can provide a

torrent—a tremendous flood of goods and services of unparalleled magnitude.

Paralleling these great resources, we have almost insatiable needs for goods and services here at home and even more obviously abroad. The slums of our cities, the obsolete buildings, the old equipment and machinery, the inadequate health and medical services and a host of other situations testify to the huge potential demands of our people. Throughout the world, the needs are limitless for relief and rehabilitation and development purposes.

Why cannot these resources here and throughout the world be utilized fully and persistently to help satisfy these demands? Those who resign themselves to depression and unemployment represent either the lazy thinkers or those with vested interests who are fearful that any change might adversely affect their immediate well-being. It is much easier to sit back and assume that nothing can be done than it is to pick up the challenge and move with vigor and imagination toward answering this stupid dilemma of potential abundance and unsatisfied wants. It is a challenge which is facing not only the United States but all the rest of the world as well. It is a more immediate challenge to us however, because we have this abundance so readily within our grasp.

When we look back over the history of the past quarter of a century and witness the emergence of communism in Russia, fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, civil war in Spain, dictatorial militarism in Japan, the New Deal in the United States, the Labor Government in England and similar upheavals elsewhere in the world, we should realize that momentous changes have been and are taking place. To a considerable degree, economic factors are behind many of these far-reaching movements. As a result of them, democracy and free enterprise are more seriously and more immediately threatened than at any time in the past. Ours is the last bulwark and perhaps the last stand. We can answer and overcome that threat only by achieving full employment and prosperity here at

home and setting an example for all the world. Principally, we must determine to make this system of ours work. We must have confidence that it can work.

THERE are two broad choices of an economic nature facing this country. First is that of attempting to develop a set of policies and plans for avoiding or greatly diminishing the wide swings of business activity. The second choice is that of letting the forces of disruption and unbalance take place and then to step in with heavy government spending when sharp declines in private employment and production threaten. It seems almost too much to expect that we can fully accomplish the first objective within the next few years. Likewise, it would be most unfortunate if we relied wholly on the latter device. We should resort to a combination of both with ever increasing emphasis on the corrective rather than the palliative approach.

Our great danger lies in the possibility that with the emerging prosperity there will develop the degree of smugness and complacency which will stifle the introduction and adoption of corrective measures. Despite all the hardships and heartaches which have come with depressions, it is difficult to stir up the people when they are prosperous so that they will press for preventive measures in advance of times of need. One can readily recall the talk about the "New Era" in the late 20's. Conditions were good and the few voices which gave warning of dangers ahead were laughed down or just not heard. Let us hope that in the immediate period ahead of us we will not be so immune from recognition of the need for foresight and planning.

It is obvious to anyone, as a result of the war experience, that given enough government spending there can be jobs for all and high levels of production. Therefore we know as a matter of fact that the government can step in and stem the tides of inflation and reduce unemployment. However, this means increasing government activity and as time goes on, certainly a

very measurable broadening of the area of government activity in fields now and formerly regarded as the responsibility of private enterprise. It is not the most desirable trend. Yet, I would much prefer government spending and government deficits of even ten or fifteen billion dollars a year as an alternative to unemployment of ten or fifteen million persons a year. This choice can be defended not only on humanitarian grounds but also on economic grounds and as a means for saving our system. However, this "filling in the gap" approach should not be our first line of attack.

Those of us who believe deeply and sincerely in this free system of ours, and who are convinced that it can work successfully, also recognize that there are certain weaknesses in the system. Those who refuse to recognize such weaknesses are among the strongest enemies of the system. By their very ostrich-like manner they are endangering democratic society in the United States. It is incumbent upon all of us to try to understand what these weaknesses are and how they can be remedied.

This is not the place to engage in a highly technical discussion of business cycle theories. Rather, I shall risk the wrath of fellow economists and the comprehension of laymen by oversimplification and state that severe business depressions result more from the maldistribution in income and the resultant excess of savings and deficiency of mass buying power than from any other single factor. In periods of prosperity, as total and individual incomes rise, the ratio of savings to income increases. As long as these savings are utilized we continue to enjoy prosperity. However, the larger the savings become, the larger are the necessary investments. Soon investments and inventory accumulations and instalment credit and other outlets for savings tend to get out of line with the buying power and actual consumption of the masses. Then comes the break.

I believe that during periods of prosperity we must exercise care in trying to keep savings and investments from getting too far

out of line with consumption. There are many ways in which this can be aided.

We need more progressive taxation, wherein taxes are increasingly assessed on the basis of ability to pay. This means increasing reliance on income and inheritance taxes, rather than sales, excise, payroll and real estate taxes. Of course it is going to be difficult to achieve the point of balance wherein this objective does not interfere with incentives for new venture and new risk. Our state and local tax systems are especially regressive and should be completely overhauled.

We need ever-higher minimum wages in order to broaden the base of mass consumption and achieve higher standards of living. We must have much greater consumption if we are to assure markets for all we can produce.

Our social security system should be completely renovated, with coverage broadened and benefits made sufficient to provide a real sense of security so that there will be less inducement to save and greater inducement to spend. Also, the payroll tax as a means of financing social security has serious economic repercussions and we should increasingly rely on progressive taxation as a source of revenue for social security purposes.

We need increasing governmental activity in the field of anti-monopolistic activities. Intensive competition is essential to technological progress and also to increase investment. As the scale of American enterprise increases, our vigilance against monopoly must likewise increase.

We need monetary and fiscal policies geared to meet both the needs of inflationary and deflationary circumstances, with legislative provision for some degree of flexibility of policy action by the executive branches of government.

THREE are dozens of other fields in which positive action by the government will be required if we are to strike at the very heart of those factors which make for unemployment and depression. None of these policies

need come outside the recognized sphere of governmental responsibility. We don't need government ownership, or government competition with private industry, or detailed regulation of the economic activities of workers, management and consumers. Such totalitarian controls have no place in this system. Yet we do need to recognize that only government can do the job of overall economic planning so essential for mitigating and ultimately eliminating the scourge of depressions.

If I were to spell out a specific program for the individual reader in the next five years, it would include:

(a) Sincere effort to acquire some knowledge and some understanding of how this system of ours works and what are the factors which have brought recurring breakdowns;

(b) An active political participation in the election of the best equipped and most understanding men to the Congress of the United States and to other important positions;

(c) Development of at least a working knowledge of important economic legislative matters before the Congress of the United States;

(d) Coming to some conclusions on important legislative matters and expressing to legislators and to friends and associates the urgent need for backing proper legislation; and

(e) Recognition that each one of us as a citizen of this country has a responsibility to consider the welfare of the nation in our day-to-day activities and our day-to-day thinking.

There is too much resignation on the part of our people to the effect either that the large problems of the nation are political in nature, and therefore distasteful, or that someone else can worry about them. We are faced with a crisis in our whole national well-being in the coming years and if we fail to prepare ourselves for that crisis and fail to meet it head on, the loss can be traced to our own inactivity. The opportunity is ours. The stakes are large.

THE PARACHUTISTS FROM PALESTINE

A Chapter in the European Resistance Movement

MARIE SYRKIN

TO THE long line of legendary heroes of Israel, the Second World War has added the gallant band of young men and women known as the parachutists from Palestine. One of them has been called a "Jewish Joan of Arc"—Hanna Szenes, who was shot by a Nazi firing squad in Budapest in 1944. Last fall when I was in Palestine her picture—that of a smiling young girl in an officer's uniform—was displayed everywhere. Her diary was just being published; and a poem she had written shortly before her death was constantly being recited and sung.

The poem consists of four lines which, translated literally from the Hebrew, read:

ON HER recent trip to Palestine, MARIE SYRKIN observed on the spot the intense, affectionate admiration of the people for the parachutists she describes in this story; she also spoke with as many of the survivors of the brave adventure as she could find. A Labor Zionist, Miss Syrkin has held office in the Central Committee of that organization, and is now on a lecture tour of the United States in behalf of the movement. She was for several years associate editor of the *Jewish Frontier*, has written for many publications, including *Common Ground*, *World Digest*, the *Chicago Sun*, the *Menorah Journal* and the *Palestine Post*, and has produced a number of pamphlets, mostly on Zionist questions. Her book, *Your School—Your Children*, published in 1944, has been widely read in educational circles and by the general public. Born in Switzerland, daughter of Nachman Syrkin, Poale Zionist leader, writer and editor, she was educated at Cornell University, where she received her B.A. and M.A. degrees. For a number of years she taught literature in the New York high schools. She is the wife of Charles Reznikoff, the poet and novelist. The saga of the parachutists will be part of a book she is now writing, to be published in the fall, about the Jewish resistance movement in Europe and Palestine.

*Blessed is the match that is consumed
in kindling flame;
Blessed is the flame that burns in the
secret fastness of the heart;
Blessed is the heart with strength to
stop its beating for honor's sake;
Blessed is the match that is consumed
in kindling flame!*

Hanna was one of the thirty-two parachutists from Palestine who dropped from British planes into Yugoslavia, Rumania, Slovakia and northern Italy to carry on secret military activities and—if possible—to help Jews escape from Europe. Each of them has a story of courage, suffering and accomplishment. The special aureole around Hanna Szenes is due not solely to her sex and tragic death but perhaps equally to her moving and articulate diary—already a classic of modern Palestine.

Unlike Joan of Arc she did not conquer the enemy, nor did she succeed in saving her people. Even if she had been Joan's equal in vision and power, she could not have become a 20th-century equivalent of the Maid. For she was the heroine of a people without armies to be led and without a land in which to lead them. But the very enormity of the obstacles she—and her parachutist comrades—faced, the hopelessness of the odds, give grandeur to achievements which were modest reckoned in military or global terms.

HANNA, born in Budapest on July 21, 1921, was the daughter of a wealthy and distinguished Hungarian Jewish family. Her father was a writer of reputation, her mother a woman of culture and grace. She herself was a precocious girl with marked

literary gifts who had a brilliant school career in Budapest. Hers was an assimilated family and perhaps, if not for Hitler, Hanna would have become a minor Hungarian poet instead of a major Jewish heroine. However, once the Jewish issue had been posed by Nazi ferocity, Hanna, though living in the comfort and apparent safety of a well-to-do Hungarian home, refused to evade it. She decided to go to Palestine.

Her father had died, and Hanna, who was always passionately attached to her widowed mother and brother, knew what suffering she was inflicting on her family. She described her mother as "a great heroine," and said, "This is a great sacrifice for her"—but she was driven by a cause she held holy.

In 1939, shortly after her eighteenth birthday, she was already in the agricultural school of Nahalal in Palestine, training herself for a life on the soil. It was a very different world from that of Budapest. More than one enthusiast who came to Palestine full of a poetic fervor for "pioneering" found his resolution unequal to the severity of the test—to the actual business of draining swamps and "making the desert bloom." Hanna was conscious of the talents and potentialities she was denying. A play she wrote shortly after her arrival in Palestine reflects her conflict. But she believed the individual must subordinate himself to the general good. "I have chosen to work on the soil. I want to be a part of the working class in Palestine. This is not theoretical, because it permeates all my actions."

She visits Kfar Gileadi, in northern Galilee, where the Jewish hero Trumpeldor and those who fell with him in defense of the settlement lie buried. The wild beauty of the Galilean hills and the memories associated with this place stir the young girl deeply. She observes in her diary: "In the freshness of the dawn, I understand why Moses received God's command in the morning. In the mountains, the question arises of itself: 'Whom shall I send?'"

And she answers the question: "Whom shall I send? Send me to serve the good

and the beautiful." And though she adds, as any young girl might, "Will I be able?" the fundamental assurance that *she* must be sent, although she is as yet uncertain as to what form this sending must take, is hers already.

She is a good worker in the school and later in the cooperative settlement of Caesarea which she joins. She can scrub clothes and clean the chicken coops with the best of them. But despite her competence, her cheerful and hardheaded manner, she is obsessed—and her diary gives evidence of it—by the need to aid her martyred brothers. She keeps describing the "absurd dreams" she has of somehow reaching Hungary in the midst of the war.

Suddenly the absurdity becomes real. She is approached by the organizers of the parachutists' group and is accepted for training in Cairo. She will reach the Jews of Hungary, descending from the skies in a parachutist's uniform. Best of all, she will try to rescue her widowed mother who remained behind in Budapest.

SO HANNA SZENES became part of that daring group whose activities were until recently a closely guarded military secret. The history of the parachutists began in August 1942 when a group of women who had been exchanged for German war prisoners arrived in Palestine. They were the first to bring word from behind the iron walls that enclosed Europe of the slaughter houses established by the Germans in Poland and occupied Russia. Plans for bringing help began to take shape wherever there were free Jewish communities. Most of these plans resolved themselves into protest meetings "to arouse the conscience of the world."

But the 600,000 Jews of the *Yishuv* (the Jewish community of Palestine) determined that whatever the obstacles, the perishing Jews of Europe had to be reached. This effort which assumed many forms reached perhaps its most spectacular climax in the venture of the parachutists.

Jewish organizations had established res-

cue centers wherever possible in unoccupied Europe and the Balkans. As the German armies advanced it became clear that efforts to penetrate Nazi Europe from without had to be supplemented by a bold attempt to land within the fortress itself. This could only be done from the air. Parachutists could be dropped into enemy territory. If they landed successfully they could establish contact with the local underground movements and devise methods of organizing resistance and rescue.

THE conception was brilliant and daring. However, it obviously could not be carried out by the Jews of Palestine alone. Whatever was done had to be undertaken with the approval and cooperation of the British military authorities. The attempt to persuade the British of the feasibility of such a plan began early in 1943.

The British had to be convinced that the general war effort would be aided by the venture. Fortunately there were sound reasons for using Palestinians as parachutists. Many of the young men and women of Palestine had originally come from the Balkans. They knew the Rumanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Croatian languages thoroughly; they were familiar with the territory and local conditions. They were obviously ideal for securing information, for establishing contacts with underground movements and partisans and for assisting the escape of prisoners of war. At the same time the Palestinians made no secret of the fact that in the course of their activities they would seek to rescue the Jews of Europe wherever and however possible.

The British intelligence, through whom such a proposal had to be negotiated, at first hesitated to use the Palestinians. Throughout the negotiations snags would arise, not military, but political in character. The British military authorities were much more kindly disposed toward this plan than the statesmen in London. However, official reluctance was finally overcome by compelling military considerations. In 1943 the oil fields of Ploesti in Rumania were

bombarded by the Allies. An extremely large number of American aviators were downed. Apparently there had been a breakdown in the intelligence service which should have given adequate warning of the defenses at Ploesti.

It was decided at last to use the Palestinian volunteers. They would be given training as parachutists and dropped in the Balkans as developments would require. The first group began training in the beginning of 1943. From the outset it was established that the chief objective of the parachutists was to carry out the military tasks to which they had been assigned. Only after their purely military missions had been accomplished, or in so far as it might further these missions, were they free to act in behalf of the salvation of European Jewry. This was a strict agreement strictly honored by those who entered the group. On this understanding the *Hagana* (Jewish Defense Organization of Palestine) furnished volunteers.

The volunteers were all members of agricultural settlements; their life in Palestine had been that of pioneers. By temperament and training they were young people accustomed to putting ideals into practice.

Two hundred and forty parachutists were trained. Thirty-two reached their destinations, of whom eight were put to death. The numbers are not large, but when one remembers that the entire British Empire at no time had more than about 250 parachutists working behind enemy lines, the thirty-two parachutists from Palestine do not appear so few.

Among those who returned with their missions accomplished were two of Hanna's comrades—Joel and Reuben Dafni—from whom we know the story of Hanna's end. The picture is rounded out by her diary.

Soon after she was asked to join the parachutists Hanna wrote: "I feel a fatality in this, just as in the time before I went to Palestine. Then too I was not my own master. I was caught by an idea that did not let me rest. I knew that I would enter

Palestine, no matter what difficulties were in my way. Now I again feel this tension toward an important and necessary task—as well as the inevitability of the task. Possibly nothing will come of all this. I may receive a brief notice telling me the plan has been abandoned, or that I will not be accepted. But I think that I have the maximal capacities for this task—and I shall fight with all my strength for it."

Before Hanna could go she had to receive the consent of her settlement. A member of a collective settlement is not an independent agent; the needs of the group as a whole are paramount. The first question to be decided is whether the farm can afford to dispense with the services of the particular member. At a meeting of the commune Hanna explained as much of the project as she could and asked for the right to leave. She had little difficulty in arousing the enthusiasm and faith of her fellows.

During the training period as a parachutist she showed herself completely fearless. The great physical courage of this sensitive and imaginative girl impressed everyone. That she should prove to have the kind of instinctive bravery which one associates with simpler human types and rarely finds in women was something for which even her friends had not been prepared.

When the arduous days of training were over the action to come was outlined. The plan of Hanna's group was necessarily broad and flexible. The parachutists, four men and one woman, were to be dropped in Yugoslavia—in territory controlled by Tito's partisans. From there assignments were divided. Some were to remain in Yugoslavia but Hanna was to try to cross into Hungary. The parachutists, particularly Hanna, had been eager to be dropped directly into Hungary but the military authorities refused on the ground that this would be too risky.

The group left Cairo for Italy. The jump into Yugoslavia was to be made from Brindisi. The crew of the plane were Poles who were amazed to learn that the

parachutists were Hebrew-speaking Palestinians with a girl among them. This was a new type of Jew indeed!

ON MARCH 13, 1944 at 1 A.M. on a beautiful moonlit night the jump was made. The parachutists wore British uniforms and if captured were to represent themselves as Palestinian members of the British air force who had met with an accident over enemy territory. If captured they were to make every effort to establish their right to be treated as prisoners-of-war. Otherwise they would be shot as spies. Some of Tito's partisans had been contacted previously and had been informed of the plans. Now the problem was whether the parachutists would succeed in landing in the designated territory.

The pilot misjudged the distance and dropped them eight miles from the correct spot. The four men found each other immediately after they came down. But Hanna, who was lighter and weaker, could not fight against a wind that was carrying her away and drifted off in a different direction. The men could not find Hanna for some time. In the meantime two figures approached who challenged them in Slovenian. Reuben answered in English, not knowing whether they were partisans or quislings. Then in the clear moonlight he saw the red star on his questioners' caps. They were Tito's men.

The signal that friends had come was given to other partisans in the hills. They came down and welcomed the Palestinians with their greeting: "Death to fascism; freedom to the people."

Together they started to search for Hanna. After about an hour she was found. The partisans were extremely cordial, though they were Slovenians, among whom anti-Semitic feeling was rife. At a banquet which they gave the parachutists later, one of the welcomers declared that they were glad to have in their midst representatives of a people who had suffered from fascism even more than the Slovenians. To the partisans everything about the parachutists

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were remarkable: they were Jews; they were Palestinians; and they were members of a collective settlement. Tito's men listened with respectful interest to the descriptions of the Jewish *kolkhoz*. The presence of a pretty young girl among the parachutists was, as might be expected, an additional source for marvel.

Military headquarters in the woods were contacted, as well as the British and American missions with Tito. The work was in the process of organization when a catastrophic turn in events compelled a complete revision of the plans. On March 18 Germany invaded Hungary. According to the original plan Hanna was to have entered Hungary as a Jewish refugee. Now this scheme was no longer feasible. Another method of smuggling across the border had to be found.

Reuben Dafni began to work on his special military mission, which was to assist in the escape of American prisoners and stranded airmen. Great American air attacks were being carried out over Hungary and Ploesti at the time—and many American aviators were being downed. It was essential to aid the fallen fliers to reach partisan territory from which they could be passed along further to the Adriatic coast. Reuben plotted maps which indicated exactly where liberated territory was to be found and what sections were in no man's land. These maps, supplemented by radio information, served as guides. Leaflets were composed asking the cooperation of civilians; searching parties for stranded aviators were organized. Many an American aviator is now living safely at home because the Palestinian parachutists successfully completed their missions. (The Nazis, the British and Tito all showed their appreciation of Reuben's work. The Germans set a price of 10,000 marks on his head. The British and Tito each decorated him for exceptional gallantry.)

With the arrival of the second group of Palestinian parachutists from Cairo it was decided that Reuben should remain in Yugoslavia to continue his work. Hanna, together with Joel, a member of the new

contingent, was to attempt to cross into Hungary—now completely Nazi-occupied. To increase the chances of success the attempt was to be made at two different places, Hanna traveling with one group, Joel with another.

HANNA arranged with Reuben that within three weeks after her departure she would send a message. If no message arrived the assumption would be that she had been captured. A boat containing two partisans would wait near one of the islands in Drava for a messenger who was to return together with a group of prisoners and refugees. The messenger from Hungary would say "List" (leaf) and the partisan in the boat would reply "Shuma" (forest) to indicate her safe arrival.

In her pocket Hanna carried the papers of a Jewish Hungarian girl who had married a Christian Yugoslav, a partisan—certificates of birth, baptism and citizenship, together with a photograph which resembled Hanna. She had a signal code which she had received in Bari and another with which to contact Reuben. She had been supplied with the addresses of two trustworthy allies in Budapest. She left Reuben confidently, with the assurance that her great work was to begin.

Reuben kept watch at the designated spot for six weeks, returning periodically for news. No word came.

Hanna was betrayed by local peasants and arrested as she tried to cross the border. Joel and his fellow-parachutist, Perez, a boy of nineteen, reached Budapest but were arrested a few days later. They were all put in the same prison.

Joel and Hanna learned of each other's presence in the prison but a face-to-face meeting could not be managed. They did, however, contrive other methods of communication since their cells, two floors apart, both faced the courtyard. In the morning when the sun was on his side Joel would flash Morse code signals with a mirror; she would answer in the afternoon when she had sunlight. With her usual ingenuity

Hanna devised ways of keeping in touch with her fellow-prisoners. She would cut large letters out of paper and place them one after another in her window until a word had been spelled out. At first her mood was good and she was confident that eventually she would be freed.

Finally, after two months and by means of bribery, Joel and Hanna managed to meet. Hanna gave Joel no details of the torture to which she had been put by the Gestapo and the Hungarian police, but he knew of what had taken place from the reports of other prisoners. But on the whole Hanna looked well, though she had been subjected to severe and lengthy questionings.

The Hungarian police had found her radio code and her radio apparatus. When they failed to break her down into revealing the code and its purpose they hit upon something they thought would be even more persuasive. They located her mother—the beloved mother, whom Hanna had dreamed of saving—and brought her face to face with Hanna.

Those who have read Hanna's diary and poems know how deep was her attachment to her mother and how bitter her self-reproaches about what she conceived to be her "unfilial" conduct. The five years in Palestine were lived under the cloud of this separation and of the sense of guilt from which she suffered—particularly because the mother had been unfailingly tender, understanding and sympathetic.

When at last they met, it was in a Hungarian prison under the eyes of police who threatened that the mother would be killed unless Hanna revealed the nature of her mission. But Hanna did not tell.

A year after her daughter's death the mother described the fatal prison interview to me in Palestine. Before she was taken to Hanna, the police official tried to discover whether Mrs. Szenes had had any inkling of her daughter's activities. He kept asking: "Where is your daughter now?" and she kept answering, "In Palestine." Finally he said to her: "She is in the next room. Persuade her to speak,

otherwise this will be your last meeting."

Hanna was brought in. She ran up to her mother, embraced her and began to weep, crying: "Mother, forgive me."

She was not in uniform. Her clothes were disordered, her hair disheveled. She had a bruise under one eye and one of her teeth was broken. Even as the mother spoke to me, a year after the girl's death, I could see that she was still troubled by the bruise and the broken tooth.

Mother and daughter were left alone for a few minutes. Stunned and bewildered, the mother kept asking "Why are you not in Palestine? Why are you here?" to which Hanna did not answer. And she also kept asking "Are you hurt?" to which Hanna said "No."

For a while, mother and daughter were in the same prison. There were occasions when they had brief, stolen meetings, sometimes while at exercise in the courtyard, sometimes through the connivance of a sympathetic attendant. And each time the mother would ask, "What have you undertaken?" But on this point Hanna was silent. Finally the mother asked: "Was it something of Jewish interest?" and Hanna said, "You are on the right track." And when the mother questioned: "Is it worth while to risk your life for such an idealistic impulse?" Hanna answered simply: "For me it is worth while."

IN OCTOBER Hungary capitulated and the political prisoners were jubilant. Each had a dream to fulfil. The Palestinians talked of meeting Hanna, going to a hotel for a big dinner and a hot bath—all the things they had not had in the months of imprisonment. But the fascist coup followed fast on the surrender and the brief interlude of hope was over.

Within a few days the men were brought before a court-martial; Hanna was to be tried in a regular court. This encouraged Joel and Perez to believe that while they were certain to be shot, Hanna would survive to tell the story of their work to the world.

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Hanna was the first to be tried; accounts of the trial come from eyewitnesses and Joel's informants in the prison. She was brave and made the kind of responses to her judges that might have been expected of her. The prosecutor demanded the death penalty. Perhaps the judges were impressed by the girl's valor, and touched by her youth and charm—in any case they did not pass sentence at once. Hanna was remanded to her cell. An officer came to her on November 6, 1944 and told her she had been condemned to death. Did she wish to plead for mercy? Hanna answered that she had been condemned by a lower court and demanded the right to appeal to a higher court. Again she was asked whether she wanted mercy. She answered: "I ask for no mercy from hangmen."

In her last hours she was permitted to write letters to her mother and her comrades. The letters were never received.

November 7 was a cold, foggy autumn day. Hanna was brought into the courtyard. Witnesses say she refused to have her eyes bound, but stood straight and unmoving as the order to fire was given. Joel heard the shots in his cell. As a rule the prisoners could tell when an execution was taking place. They were familiar with the sequence: the tramp of the firing squad, the beating of the drums, the shots. This time only rifle shots were heard. They could see nothing. But through one of the prisoners who reported sick and talked with the doctors and attendants, they learned the news. Their hopes had been vain—Hanna had been executed.

When the mother told me of her daughter's death before a firing-squad, she said, "She was so young, so gifted, and so young!" And I knew that Hanna's glory in Palestine, the freshly published volume of her poems, the memorial meetings in her honor, were small comfort. The grave in the "Lot of the Martyrs" in the Jewish cemetery of Budapest where Hanna lay buried had more reality.

As for Hanna's prison comrades, Joel survived, escaping from a moving train on the

way to Germany, but Perez was executed in Germany. Joel managed to get back to Budapest where, following the October fascist coup, wholesale massacres of Jews were taking place. Allied prisoners of war were also in acute danger. Joel contacted the underground movement, helped organize resistance to the fascists and aided in the rescue of Jews and the concealment of prisoners until the Red Army entered Budapest.

REUBEN in Yugoslavia working with the partisans, Joel and Hanna in Hungary—these are only a few of the names of those who went and did what they could to fight the Nazis and to rescue the Jews of Europe. Another was Avi, one of the parachutists from Palestine who entered Rumania. Avi is a shepherd. A mild, blue-eyed chap who originally came from Rumania, he had spent his years in Palestine in an agricultural settlement where he had tended sheep.

He had started training as a parachutist with considerable misgivings. The leisurely pace of tending sheep was hardly preparation for the task before him. Unlike Reuben and Joel who had been soldiers he had no natural aptitude for his new venture. His wife, his child, his sheep, had filled his life. But the cry of the Jews of Europe reached him in the fields of the Emek; many shepherds were needed for the flock beset by wild beasts. Avi told me that he found strength in remembering the favorite characters of Jewish folklore—simple men who performed miracles for the nation—shoemakers or tailors who became capable of fantastic feats in a moment of exaltation. "You see," he said to me, "it is not the wonder-rabbis who become our saviors. In the legends, it is the plain, humble man. The shoemaker who is able to *kvitza hederech* (leap over the road), he is the original parachutist!"

In the fall of 1943 after a brief training period Avi and Aryee, another Palestinian, were dropped in Rumania. Owing to bad visibility they were dropped not on the designated point but amidst anti-aircraft fire in a small Rumanian town. Aryee fell in

the courtyard of a police station where he was promptly seized; he was later sent to Germany. Avi landed on a roof-top, breaking his leg in the fall. He too was arrested in the morning.

This seemed like a hopeless end to the mission. What could be accomplished by a prisoner of war lying with his leg in a cast in a Rumanian prison hospital? The first problem naturally was to prevent the Rumanians from discovering his identity or the nature of his mission. Since he was captured in uniform—that of a British lieutenant—Avi was in a position to insist on his rights as a prisoner of war. He claimed that he and his companion had been obliged to bail out because of engine trouble. As a Palestinian he could be a British airman without knowing English. However the Rumanians were suspicious. They accused him at once of being a native Rumanian who had been deliberately dropped for some secret allied task. Avi's great concern was to keep them from discovering that he knew Rumanian.

He spoke only German to his interrogators and the Rumanians kept trying to trap him by wearing him down physically and nervously. His leg was in a bad state—infected and badly fractured—and he was in great pain. His captors deliberately neglected him, ignoring his simplest requests, on the theory that in a moment of distress and impatience he would betray his knowledge of Rumanian. When the cast on his leg bothered him especially the nurse would manipulate the leg in some particularly painful manner and ask in Rumanian, "Does this hurt?"

Though he was bedridden, Avi managed to establish contact with the Jewish underground in Bucharest and so carry out part of his mission. After tactful probing he established friendly relations with a soldier and a nurse, both of whom began to assist him. By means of these go-betweens whose cooperation was absolutely trustworthy a regular correspondence developed between Avi and centers in Bucharest, Constantinople and Cairo.

Once Avi knew that his contacts with the outside world had been established, he began to think in terms of carrying out a principal point in his program—to help in the escape of American and British prisoners of war. He made his presence and purpose known to an American major in the prison, and began to work out plans for escape.

The stories of the tunnels dug, the flights at night, can be duplicated by any account of a prisoner-of-war camp. What is significant, however, is how Avi from his sick-bed managed to spin the thread which made the schemes practicable. For instance, in order to escape, the prisoners had to be provided with maps of the surrounding country, with money, with flashlights. A wire-cutter to cut the wires around the camp was an essential. Once he had made his contacts with the Jewish underground Avi secured these things. The chain went from Avi to a doctor who came daily to the hospital, to a center of comrades in Bucharest and from there radiated out to Istanbul and Cairo. It became possible to make requests known to British and American headquarters and when these requests were fulfilled, to bring the needed items to the prison camp. All this involved daily danger, but the Rumanians never discovered that Avi was the central figure in many of the escapes.

When the Rumanian armistice took place in August 1944 there were 1,000 American aviators in Bucharest. In the chaotic period before new authorities took over it was essential that these aviators be concealed and enabled to escape, as it was feared that the Germans might march in at any time. The Germans immediately began an intensive bombardment of Bucharest which lasted for several days. During this period, under the direction of Avi and with the help of the Jewish underground the aviators were provided with civilian clothes, places for hiding, money and medication. During the bombardment, the only functioning taxi employed to bring the imprisoned aviators out of the prison camps was that of the Jewish underground. Radio communication was

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established with Cairo. Thanks to all these measures the aviators were kept safe till the Americans could take them out of Rumania. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that due to the immediate assistance given by the facilities of the Jewish underground many American airmen are today free and alive who might otherwise have been lost. Thus Avi completed his mission despite the initial bad luck of his accident.

IN EACH country into which they penetrated, the parachutists succeeded in completing at least part of what they set out to do. In Rumania, through their knowledge of the country and their contacts with the Jewish underground, they were able to prepare stores of maps, compasses and other essential equipment, to secure living quarters inside Bucharest where fleeing prisoners of war could be hidden and finally to help American and British prisoners to escape. When Bucharest was in danger of being recaptured by the Germans they helped to organize resistance in the Jewish quarter. These groups formed part of the general resistance movement of the workers of Bucharest who rose to defend their city against the Nazis till the Red Army entered.

In Yugoslavia they worked as liaison officers with the partisans and tried to maintain the links with Hungary and Rumania. One member of a group dropped in Yugoslavia reached Austria, the first allied airman to do so.

Slovakia also had its Palestinian parachutists. In September 1944, during the Slovak partisan uprising, a mission of five left Italy by plane for Yugoslavia. One of these was Haviva, a young woman who, like Hanna Szenes, lost her life in the course of the mission. They set up a wireless station and established contact with the Jewish underground in German-occupied Slovakia. They assisted hundreds of refugees liberated from forced labor camps. With the help of local Jewish resistance groups they formed a Jewish partisan unit which went into the mountains two days before the town in which they operated was

recaptured by Germans. Three of the five, including Haviva, were killed in a German raid on their camp.

In May 1944 Enzo Sereni was parachuted into northern Italy, in the area still occupied by the Germans. His task too was to organize the escape of allied war prisoners and to aid in Italian resistance. A son of the personal physician of the King of Italy, a scholar and adventurer with a touch of the Italian *condottiere*, a Zionist who became a *halutz* long before Hitler's advent, Enzo Sereni is as much a legend in Palestine as Hanna Szenes. The other parachutists idolized him as teacher and leader. It was Enzo who with characteristic confidence assured his young comrades when they parted in Bari: "Remember, only he dies who wants to die." He was captured and executed in Dachau at the age of 39.

For the Jews of Europe, the parachutists' appearance was the sign that the tomb in which they were perishing was not sealed. Every Jewish community heard of the parachutists. In Yugoslavia Jewish partisans marched for miles to see Reuben. The story of Avi spread throughout Rumania. Of course all kinds of fairy-tales sprang up around these men and women. Their numbers grew in the popular mind; the nature of their deeds assumed a more spectacular character. This idealization was inevitable. The combination of desperate need and poetic answer was bound to create the myth.

As every rational expectation of help proved illusory, as no great power intervened, no outraged Christian world took action, hope began to center on the "homeland"—the only place which offered welcome—if it could be reached. When the miracle took place and the "homeland" sent its sons and daughters into the abyss, it is understandable what emotions were aroused.

For many, the parachutists from Palestine were an affirmation of faith. They flashed across the murk of Nazi Europe and brought light even when they could not bring life.

"Blessed is the match that is consumed in kindling flame."

THE FOREIGNER

A Story

KURT H. WOLFF

I HAD seen the girl on the street near where we lived. Her face had been so layered with paint and powder that I couldn't tell what it was really like; and her eyebrows and lashes, at least in their blackness and perhaps in their density, were obviously not her own. Her mouth appeared where it was, but both the shape and color had been made over. The eyes, ultramarine, were those of a lusty and crazy picture. I remember turning around. Her hair, caught in a sausage shape, bobbed beneath her shoulders: it was a heavy brass-and-honey; voluptuous, yet deadening as a wig. Her walk was made up of little cautious steps that feigned great determination; but it was faithless, and it was prudish, starting only from the knees, not the loins. She wore a clean woolen coat of the color of strawberries-and-milk.

Her eyes had looked at me for an instant; she must have noted my peculiarly alien face and manner.

For some reason I told my wife about the encounter. The next day, on coming back to the apartment after a walk—unwillingly I had been thinking about the girl and about my foreignness—my wife told me the woman

from upstairs had locked herself out and had come down to use our telephone; but the call had not seemed to help any, for after she was through with it she had produced a ladder, upon which her daughter, who wore a dark-red coat, had climbed up, crept through one of the windows, and from the inside opened the house door to her mother. The mother, my wife said, had a tight closed mouth; I did not recall ever having seen her, but we agreed that the daughter must be the girl I had passed on the street.

The apartment above ours had been vacant until recently. Since its occupancy there had been strange noises at strange hours. At midnight there would be some moving of furniture or resolute-sounding walking, all near enough to reverberate upon our heads. And there had been other noises, not strange but no less painful. Somebody in the apartment would take hold of the old abused piano that with its fashionable gray paint once matched other furniture in a music room, and abuse it some more, producing loud, merciless, unmastered melodies, suddenly ending with a bang, shattering piano and paint and hovering long in the air. This might happen at any time except after midnight.

To be truthful, nothing disturbed me during that period. I reconstructed these noises from the accounts of my more sensitive wife. In the hour or two before I went to bed—long after midnight—I worked in a great silence, with only rare footsteps or voices in front of our basement windows.

THEN within a few days everything changed. Somewhere in the night I was awakened by noises something like rocks rumbling on hollow wood; they were like,

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but only like, the piano noises that my wife had told me about. The noises and absence of piano playing were both bad; the one because I was wakened, the other because I couldn't go upstairs and complain about something as explicit and provoking as piano playing. Between Wednesday and Saturday the noise got to be terrible; very soon I would wake up before it started, as from a long-accustomed alarm clock whose alarm is anticipated. At times I thought I couldn't stand it. Of course, I tried to overcome it, to force myself to sleep, to commiserate with the poor who had to get up so early—which probably was the reason for the bedlam. But I didn't sleep well, thought of the morning work, got more furious when I had to realize that I would be too tired to do it. My fury invited other thoughts, making me more furious: the chocolate I had failed to buy because I was too late for the store, late because of this, or that—but I would not be able to bring it to my sick friend in the hospital; the pains my wife had been feeling in her side. I had hoped—ridiculous hope!—I could do away with all of this in my sleep. The baby smiled, but he smiled more than he ate and gained; worse, people, unconcerned for others, made noise at four in the morning. I wanted to kill them.

But I had to be cautious. It might be better to talk to them. I was cautious. We had lived in another city and had had the rarest and most friendly relations with the neighbors. Then one morning a rooster crowed in the backyard of the house next to ours. We knew the woman who lived there. My wife was expecting the child, and she couldn't sleep. The rooster would crow for not more than an hour and stop, assuring himself that he had been heard and acknowledged.

After two weeks of cockish nightmares I called Mrs. Blair over the telephone. A girl who roomed with her answered; Mrs. Blair, she said, intended to have the rooster for next Sunday's dinner. But the animal continued to crow. Monday I called again; I got to talk with Mrs. Blair herself. She

had not been notified of my previous call. She did not intend to eat the rooster. On the contrary, she wanted to tell me something: she had been living here for twenty-five years, in this same house, and no neighbor had ever complained. I expressed regrets that I should be the first, and made it clear that I only inquired whether there might not be a way to silence the rooster. But Mrs. Blair cut me short with an accusation about a floodlight. My desk lamp, she finally made clear, was so placed that it shone directly into her daughter's bedroom. I scolded her for not having told me long before. (For the last two years, she asserted, Ethel had suffered on account of the light.) Then, furiously, and directly before hanging up, she said she'd kill the rooster if I stopped the floodlight. I foolishly told the black telephone I did not want the rooster to be killed; the next day it foolishly told me, in Mrs. Blair's voice, that he *had* been killed.

I WAS thinking of this, of course, as I tossed in my bed, meekly wondering whether I should talk to the people upstairs. I detested myself for the idiotic matters I felt forced to take account of—whether there might possibly be anything of which they could accuse us. I was almost furious to find that there was nothing at all, nothing with which we could have offended them: no floodlight, no typing after ten, no noises, no baby crying—the baby did not cry, and if it had cried (I condescended to expand upon my philanthropic thoughts) they would have been unable to hear it. I immediately despised myself some more for thinking that perhaps it would be wiser to talk to our landlords, who were so accommodating. In my fantasy I even insinuated that those people upstairs were there only temporarily. But, heavens, the landlords were accommodating to others too and they would surely not talk to *them*. No, I would.

When I awoke from these petty, damnable thoughts and from subsequent rewarding sleep it was half past ten, but I did not feel

refreshed. I had a headache; of course it was caused by the interruption during the night. I would speak to those people at once, but I confess I felt cowardly about it (at least I confess it). I thought of the rooster experience. Really, to speak was an oppressive decision; it was a weight on top of my aching head. My wife found I was mute and brooding. Our breakfast was a ridiculous ordeal. I did mumble some curses against the noisemakers; I felt a foolish relief that she and the baby had not even heard the clamor. It was Sunday. Sundays I don't dress before noon, and added to the headache, to the tension in the house, to the imminent conversation, were detestable preparations—shaving, getting into clothes. After the breakfast curses I said no more. I was furious, yet I anticipated some kind of triumphant return from the first floor.

My hands and my brain began to sweat when I tried to imagine what I would say. I gave up; I only attempted to pull myself into a mood of conciliation, so that I might be able to speak man to man, or man to woman. My finger pressed the bell button. Who would come to the door? The mother: I recognized her by her tight mouth. She looked inquiringly. I said I lived downstairs, might I speak to her for a minute. She nodded, receded. I came in. She indicated that I was to sit on the couch. It was the very room where the noises must have originated.

The prolongation of the formalities made it ever more oppressive for me to begin. And I was highly irritated by the disappearance of a female figure the moment I entered the room. But before I began my speech, that figure came back—the girl whom I had seen on the street, painted, in the same strawberries-and-milk coat. She was probably not through dressing, I thought, she probably didn't want to miss the visitor. I bowed to her; she moved her mouth in acknowledgment. I blurted: "I was wondering. . . ."

I at once fully understood my hideous mistake: I had antagonized these people.

I had been training so strenuously for a friendly tone; now I sounded ironical, implying that they were outrageous, that I was only condescending to treat them kindly. I was a menace, a tremendous, vague menace. The mother was confusing to me. "I am awfully sorry," she said in sincere kindness. I blushed, and liked it. "My boy has a war job and gets up that early—but I'll see to it that he doesn't make his bed—I told him he shouldn't—this is it," she concluded, pointing at the couch on which I was sitting. The interview might be over, I thought, if I only added something as kind as her simple reply, something about my appreciation of her consideration of my representation, that—that, well, that if it hadn't been for the baby I wouldn't have bothered her (a lie, of course!).

But suddenly I glanced at the daughter who was biting her lips, now looking at me with her ultramarine eyes, straight and crooked: "Were you born here?" she said. I looked back. I didn't quite catch on, but my look was straight-and-crooked too. "Anyway, were you born in this country?" she pounced on me.

There! It was at once quite intelligible of course, in a flash. It was the portentous sermon admonishing us to invest our change in an even fakier toothpaste, it was to worship in an air-conditioned house of worship, it was to close your eyes so the shade of your lids will shine: it was totally intelligible.

But what was my intelligence if not a ceremoniously, scrupulously sharpened razor blade that shattered on the rock it tried to cut? What rock, which rock? My look was wholly crooked! I babbled, "No—I am a citizen though, the same as you are." "Oh, you are, are you?" she flashed. The red came up under her red paint. "I pay rent," I added, a little louder, but then remained speechless. I must have looked at the mother—for all I seem to remember is that moment of her tight mouth; at the daughter, who swallowed immobile.

I must have slowly shaken my head from her to her, uncomprehending, lost, forlorn

in my great intelligence. Then I know I shook my head, looking from one to the other, yet feeling utterly foolish; I know I knew nothing better than to shake my head. Then I left.

I DON'T remember how I got downstairs. I didn't manage to keep the encounter from my wife, but I was as stingy in my account as I could possibly be, while still making some kind of sense. Of course, my wife overwhelmed me with all the proper arguments that ought to be advanced—what the hell one's birthplace had to do with human decency or with the rights of a renter, if I preferred it that way; why I had let that brat get away with it; what a fool I had made of myself. I lost my nerve. I slammed the door, shouting next time she could go up there. Immediately I felt that speechlessness was the only answer to that sort of malicious, execrable weakness of the outfit on the first floor. But to feel this was a lie in the face of my weakness; and was not this weakness malicious, even execrable perhaps?

There was a knock at the door. Finally I heard it; I cursed, "The milkman," and opened it mechanically.

But it was the girl from upstairs, in a faded dress, without the coat, without paint, only red lips. "Yes?" I said, and showed her in. She looked at me intently, humble, inviting; she blushed. I became curious immediately, motioned her to a chair. She sat down, studying the floor for a moment. "My mother sent me," she said, "to apologize." She gave me the eye so unmistakably and laid a moist hand on my sleeve with such an unmistakable touch that I laughed because the rock seemed to give way. And because it gave way in this manner I said, "What a fool!" understanding but vaguely what I said and knowing she could guess even less whom I referred to.

We got up, at the same time. I looked at my sleeve—her hand seemed to have left an imprint—then hazily at her. Her eyes had no cover; I have never seen such a naked smile, such a stripped look. I opened the door wide. She hesitated. When she was near me she seemed to stop once more. Suddenly she brushed against me with her full body and was gone, leaving a smile against which I slammed the door in mad rage. But it stayed in the room for some time, an irritating smell.

What a fool!

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY: RIVALS OR PARTNERS?

A Call for a New Understanding in the Postwar World

JAMES PARKES

THE question in my title will perhaps seem odd; that I ask it at this time is the result of a cobbler not having stuck to his last. A theologian by training, I have been in fact more concerned with history than theology; a Christian by belief, I have, for more than ten years, been occupied with the attempt to understand Judaism; and a parson by calling, I have been concerned with political and international rather than with parochial or ecclesiastical matters. And, as a result of these three peculiar interests, the question I have here asked has come to assume for me a completely unexpected importance.

Nor is the question here posed from the standpoint of that modern eclecticism which puts *all* religions more or less on an equal footing, so that I might equally have asked the question of Christianity and Islam, or

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any other pair of the historic faiths of mankind. Rather the question only arises because there is an intimacy of relation between these two which is not paralleled elsewhere. And it arises in the particular form in which I have put it because the conventional explanations given by either side as to the position of the other seems to me partly untrue and partly untenable.

Indeed, to the immense majority of the sincere adherents of both religions, the question would seem meaningless, or even improper. For each claims for itself a finality and a comprehensiveness which would preclude it from admitting the other to equality as a partner, or regarding it as satisfactory as an alternative.

Each traditionally regards itself as containing the ultimate truth, and the other as an imperfect form of itself. Judaism has come to regard Christianity as a less perfect form of monotheism, which yet serves as a half-way house for the nations to the more austere form of Jewish religion. Christianity regards Judaism as imperfect in that, while it possesses the Old Testament, it does not recognize that the Sinaitic revelation only receives its fulfilment in the greater truths of the Gospel.

Neither of these hypotheses will really bear examination. Neither religion is an imperfect form of the other. Christianity is no less monotheistic than Judaism; and the Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament is not "fulfilled" in the Christian interpretation of the New. They are in fact two different religions; and more than that, two different kinds of religion. Considered in themselves they are alternatives.

It would already make a great difference in the relations between them if on both sides we could accept that fact—that neither

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of us is simply an imperfect reproduction of the other, but that each of us, in our own right, is an expression of God's revelation, and man's discovery of the truth about His world.

IN THE beginning I said that I was a person more concerned with political and international than with ecclesiastical or parochial matters. Now as a politician I am less concerned with any particular plan or technical program of organization than with the basic problem of the disintegration of the individual in a disintegrated society. It seems to me that we shall have no difficulty in technical or organizational matters, once we are agreed on a common purpose, and have a sufficiency of individuals with the wills and determination to seek that purpose. In other words, our basic question is not technical but spiritual, and my belief in God is even more committed to the adventure of a new society than my belief in socialism.

Accordingly, it would seem that I was falling into line with the main Christian position that the function of the Church is to prepare individuals, and that they can be left then to prepare a Christian society. But, as I have said, I am a theologian turned historian: and every historical instinct I possess tells me that the whole evidence of history is that such an attitude, especially at one of the turning points of human society, is the most unrealistic utopianism. The structure of society, its ethos and mores, are determining factors in the evolution of the individual: and those who are designed by God to be rebels, and to be capable of standing out against the common environment, are, and are meant to be, but an infinitesimal minority. I must demand of religion that it help to change the structure of society.

But here I come to my basic problem. Christianity has never shown any substantial or consistent capacities in that direction, and has nothing coherent today to offer on the subject.

In saying this I am not ignoring the fact that various Christian groups, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries, are striving desper-

ately to achieve a social and political gospel. They are rather my evidence. For, on the one hand, they are violently controverted by the majority of their fellow Christians, especially if they ask for decisive, and therefore, divisive action; and—and here I come back into the bosom of my subject—it cannot escape notice that, on the whole, it is to the Prophets rather than to the Gospels that these minorities turn for their effective authority.

JUDAISM has come into the center of the picture. Or hasn't it? For historic Judaism has always attached more importance to the Law than to the Prophets; and before we can decide that it is in Prophetic religion that the reconciliation of Judaism and Christianity, as well as the needs of the present age, are to be met, we need to look more closely at the essences of historic Judaism and historic Christianity.

It is not possible in this essay to argue the fact of the divine choice of a single people, or the possibility of divine action in human history. I can only state that I find neither repugnant to my reason or irrelevant to the interpretation of human history. I assume the facts of the theophanies of Sinai and Calvary, and am concerned only with their nature.

That the content of the Sinaitic revelation was ethical monotheism, we should all, I imagine, accept. I am more concerned with how this teaching was to be understood and accepted among men, and what was to be its consequences in human history. And here the answer seems to me clear: *through the chosen community*. Man lives in society, and it is through the society of which he is a member that he is to come to understand and obey the will of God for men. This is a permanent truth which no subsequent theophany could modify or dispense with.

It is the nature of God's dealings with men that such an event as the theophany of Sinai produces no immediate and "unnatural" change on its recipients. That which happened then is the beginning of a continuous creative process; and it is only over long

periods that it becomes possible to observe that something is emerging which is essentially different from what preceded or is taking place elsewhere. That which thus gradually emerged in Jewish history was the expression of a new quality of human society, resting on certain beliefs, and developing in certain forms.

I would pick out three fundamentals: *First*, this new life looks outward to the world because it looks inward to God. That which is declared in the first commandment is the essential foundation of the relations of men with men. It becomes, for example, natural to give a double sanction to the law that "the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among yourselves, and thou shalt love him as thyself" in adding, "for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" and "for I am the Lord your God."

Second, the life which thus turns both outward and inward is a unity. There is no place for "secular" and "religious" within it. Man, even as a sinner, still lives in the city of God, for there is no place else where he could live; and there is no law which will work, either for the individual or for society, save only the law of God.

Third,—and this was the last of these three fundamentals to be realized—there lies on each living generation the responsibility of interpreting the will of God for itself; and it is in the discovery of this truth that Judaism reached its fulfilment as a permanently creative channel of the activity of God in human society.

Few matters have been more misunderstood in Judaism than this question of "the traditions of the Elders." William Temple once said: "Revelation is always an event: its interpretation lies with us." Once this be accepted, then it follows that in the perpetually changing vista of human society and human generations there is no religious task more fundamental than that of insuring that the interpretation of revelation is perpetually consonant with human needs.

Much of the peculiar character of Judaism arises from its concern with this task; and

it is the many stages and methods of its fulfilment which distinguish the history of Jewry from that of any other people. The sequence from Sinai through Judges to kingship, through Psalmists to Prophets, through Prophets to Ezra, through Ezra to the Pharisees, and thence to the Rabbis, the rabbinical schools and later the rabbinical synods, together with the evolution of the system of *responsa*—it is this which gives significance to the outward story, itself unique: the story of the fall of a kingdom and the rise of a people of God.

If we inquire more closely of the means whereby this development was secured, of the qualities which give to this particular human family its perpetual social creativity, the answer is easy. It is the predominance of law and instruction over exhortation in their religious development. Judaism was ever concrete, ever insisted on the understanding of the will of God, not in general terms, but for the precise situation. With the weaknesses consequent on such a religious system we are familiar; we reflect too rarely on its strength.

I would pass over the more obvious advantages of discipline, and cohesion, and dwell only on two which are particularly relevant to our present purpose. Such a faith must be taught; and the teaching needs to be both regular and progressive. With all that there was of arrogance and bitterness in the struggle against the ignorant—*Am Ha-aretz*—the struggle was a right struggle, and infinitely preferable to the easily accepted clerical-lay division of Christian tradition.

The second advantage is perhaps more difficult to explain, partly because the vicissitudes of Jewish history so deeply modified it, and ultimately overwhelmed it. It is that such a faith must not merely be constantly related and adapted to the actual life of its adherents, but it must be constantly anticipating their problems and meeting their emergent needs. It is a commonplace with us that law cannot anticipate public opinion. It was constantly the task of the rabbis by the nature of their laws to create that opinion. And they did it with astonishing effi-

cency under the most varied and unexpected circumstances. The creative vitality which passes from the Tannaim of the first and second centuries to the Geonim of the seventh, and from the Geonim to the Responsa literature of the Middle Ages is not paralleled in the history of another religion.

WHEN we pass from Judaism to Christianity, the nature of our picture changes completely. Apart from certain of the Free Churches which have sought to model their organizations on the apostolic, and therefore Jewish, period of Christian history, the Christian conception of social organization has not advanced beyond that of the most primitive leadership-society. We have not been able to make a community even out of the smallest unit, a parish. Its organizations and activities are still adopted and discarded at the will of a priest in whose selection the parishioners have none but the most formal rights.

It is extraordinary to discover, as a historian must discover, that in the whole rich pageant of the first Christian civilization there is not a single new creative social or political form which is owed to the inspiration or guidance of the Christian Church or the Christian tradition. Even of the Church itself, it would be amusing were it not tragic to discover that when men begin to speak of "mother Church" and to endow her with all graces, they must at once hasten to explain that they are not dealing with any of the visible Christian institutions which go, or have gone, under that name!

It is quite another matter when we turn from the social unit to the individual. There, in its turn, the Christian record is unique, and the creative capacity of the Christian tradition still inexhaustible. I have not the time to deal with that element of ethical monotheism common to both religions, though it could well be said that the vigor of theological speculation and controversy in Christian tradition had led to a depth in Christian theology less visible in the sister faith. That which is most contested is often most prized; and that which is constantly

challenged is most often renewed. The unchallenged acceptance of its theology through the centuries of rabbinic Judaism has resulted in a curious weakness in the rabbinic tradition.

It is, at the moment, rather with the cultivation of the individual that I am concerned. The two phenomena most conspicuous in Christian history are: first, the continuous succession of individual missionaries, and second, the continual concern with the sinner as a sinner. Christianity has often become formal and cold in the suburbs and among the rich; its sincere adherents have always been welcome among the poorest and the outcasts, and among such their work has always been fruitful.

Its capacity to recreate and to sustain the individual is the natural consequence of the theophany of Bethlehem and Calvary. Here the message is not to the community, nor is the community the instrument of its perpetuation. Its center lies in its staggering expression of the worth to God himself of the individual human life. However interpreted, the center of Christianity is the Cross; and however interpreted the figure that hangs thereon implicates in its atoning action God himself. Christianity, it has been said, cannot be taught: it must be caught; and there is truth in this. For that which can only be caught is a new personal relationship, containing access to a new source of power, and expressing itself in a changed life. The change may be gradual or catastrophic; that which is caught may be caught in one swift action or by slow degrees. But the essential truth remains the same: the power of Christianity lies in its capacity to bring into the life of the individual the power and the activity of God; and in this sense nothing which happened at Sinai can replace or enable the world to dispense with that which happened on Calvary.

I am not, of course, unaware that there is a good deal of emphasis on the individual in Judaism; for a community is, after all, composed of individuals, and they could not be neglected. Nor am I unaware that Christians, moved by their faith, have undertaken

measures of political and social reform in all countries and continents; they could scarcely have avoided doing so. But I do not think that I am being unjust to the history of either religion in making the distinction which I have made: that in Judaism we see pre-eminently the working of God in the development of the community; and in Christianity we see the same in terms of the individual.

If this be indeed true, then the question with which I began is seen to be most truly pertinent in our present situation, confronted as we are with disintegrating persons in a disintegrating society. For neither religion possesses the power to cope with the situation unaided; whereas, as partners, they have that wherewith to meet the world's need.

THHEY have that power? Rather they could have it. For it is to the orthodoxies of both that I have turned for salvation, and we have to admit that the orthodoxies of both are each in equally parlous condition. They have broken down for quite different reasons; but they have both quite definitely broken down. Christian orthodoxy has not yet faced the need to reinterpret its theology in terms of the discoveries made in almost every field of human thought from the fifteenth century onwards, but it will certainly not recover its influence until it does so. The breakdown of Jewish orthodoxy goes still further back, but, on the other hand, a great deal of the responsibility for the breakdown does not lie on Jewish shoulders.

For a religion such as Judaism it was not the mere fact of geographical homelessness which was the profoundest tragedy, but the inevitable acceptance of the principle that "the law of the land is law." However inferior it might be in its moral outlook, it was impossible for Jews to do other than accept it—insofar as the Gentile majority demanded such acceptance. In consequence Jewish law, which was meant to cover the whole field of life of the Jewish community, was gradually narrowed in its scope until it finally became "ecclesiastical" law as much

as Christian canon law, and its creative development ceased. And, at the same time, the rabbis, deprived of the opportunity of exercising their minds and spirits on the weightier matters of community life, found an unhappy and artificial compensation in exaggerated attention to details. It is not that it is wrong to attach importance to such questions; but it is a profound pity that they had the free time to do so.

A further blow was the nature of emancipation when it finally came—it was wholly individual and hostile to the whole interlocked existence of the Jewish community as it had been in the ghetto. The rediscovery of the essentials of Judaism in terms of the communities of free Jewish citizens of England or the United States is a problem Jewry has not yet solved.

At the same time it is true of both religions that the reformisms of the nineteenth century, essential though they were as steps in the spiritual adjustments of both religions, yet do not indicate the way forward. A Christianity without the atonement—however interpreted—and a Judaism which replaces the Law by the Prophets, both alike have surrendered that which was the powerhouse of their respective faiths, and they cannot so far produce evidence that generalized exhortation has suddenly achieved the dynamic power of the older faiths.

Vast though the task is, the omens are not wholly unpropitious. There is a widespread recognition that the malady of the age is profoundly spiritual; while there is no question of going back to the old orthodoxies as they were, there is perhaps a recognition that religion must be definite and make definite demands.

In the scientific world there is a potential ally in psychology and a good deal of modern physics; in the political world there is one in the widespread demand for a concrete social justice. But time is short. Religious prejudice dies hard. The call to both religions is one they must heed now if they are to take their share in rebuilding in our postwar world.

GREECE: "UNUSED CAKES OF SOAP"

The Pattern of Jewish Fate Repeats Itself

HAL LEHRMAN

ATHENS

THIE fashionable phrase in Salonika for a Jew back from deportation is "unused cake of soap." This brand of Hellenic wit requires a toughness of stomach more common among ancients. But a Salonikan comes up to antique measure in times of crisis, especially when he's grown quite cozy in an abandoned Jewish home or shop, and the owner returns to life. Soap was an end product at some concentration camps of what was left over from the gas chambers.

There were 45,000 Jews in Salonika, once the most thriving Jewish city of the "Orient." Now there are less than 2,000. The Germans had persuaded the Chief Rabbi Zwi-Hirsch Koretz to give up the registers of his congregations. This facilitated operations. Names were ticked off batch by batch and with very few exceptions Jews obediently came. The Germans were vague. They talked about colonists for new territories. They were somewhat brutal with colonizers, but they had been brutal for a long time. So the Jews filed into the Baron Hirsch Quarter. The choice of rendezvous was sardonic; the area originally

THIS is the third of a series of first-hand reports by HAL LEHRMAN on the fate of the remaining Jews of Middle Eastern Europe. It is the first factual eyewitness story of the post-war situation of the Jews in Greece. Earlier articles on Hungary and Rumania appeared in our January and March issues. Director of operations for the Office of War Information in Turkey during the war, and with the Associated Press, *Newsweek*, the Havas News Agency and the New York *Daily News* here and abroad before that, Mr. Lehrman digests the facts about one country and moves on to the next. He is now in Belgrade from which city he will shortly send a report of what is happening to the Jews of Yugoslavia.

had been built up to relieve Jewish residential congestion. Also it comfortably bordered the North Railway Station. Jews could be loaded into freight cars with a minimum of fuss. As one shipment was emptied out of the Baron Hirsch Quarter another came in through the far gates to be organized and packed. Nordic efficiency never worked so well—from March to May 1943 the Germans sent off 43,000 Jews, their destinations Auschwitz and similar "colonies."

About 850 Jews have returned. The latest arrival came back last September and no more are expected.

Other survivors drifted in from the mountains or from Athens, or came out of Salonikan cellars. Today, over seventeen months since liberation, less than 5 per cent of them have been allowed to retake possession of their own homes.

Greek authorities have a pious defense. These houses and apartments, they say, are occupied by poor Greek refugees who fled from terrible Bulgarian soldiers in villages or whose homes were destroyed by fire, shell and bomb. They're legitimate war victims. One surviving Jew returned to a house his whole family had once filled. Should Greek refugees be piled into the streets? Is a Jew entitled at best to more than one room? At a glance this argument has a modicum of social justice. Salonika did have many refugees. They poured in from Macedonia and Thrace where the Bulgar occupation army was busy converting natives into live Slavs or dead Greeks. The influx was also great at Janina and Corfu because Albanians were doing their bit to establish their ethnic claim to northern Epirus by direct action on Greek

inhabitants thereof. German and Italian commanders quartered fugitives wherever they could. The housing crisis continued so acute after liberation that the new government ratified all Axis requisitions in Northern provinces for Jewish and Gentile properties alike.

The official apologia for the housing scandal of Salonika, however, omits to say that this freezing of rooming allotments affected Jews mainly, since relatively few urban Greeks had been compelled to abandon their homes; that no serious attempt was made to find places for Jews; that no rent was paid by "tenants" to help destitute owners; that no single collaborator was expropriated to make room for Jews; and that many small-time quislings actually lived in Jewish flats. The Jewish lawyer, Yomtov Yakeel, whose niece I met in Athens, was pulled out of hiding and sent to a German crematory by an Armenian named Budurian who was in the Gestapo's employ. When his niece, his only surviving relative, returned from Germany the family of Budurian was installed in Yakeel's house.

Only two of fifteen public Jewish buildings—an orphanage and a day nursery—have thus far been returned to the community. They are now makeshift shelters for homeless deportees. As for Jewish shops and businesses, these were entirely occupied by Greek friends of Germans in reward for services rendered. Of 2,000 such establishments, only thirty-seven have been restored to their owners. The liberation government even extended the existence of the special bureau created by the occupation government to supervise properties parceled out to quislings. The point is that these tenants are a political force in Greece, and Jews are not. The former even organized an association for the protection of their common interests against Jews. Last May the non-partisan (read "reactionary") government of Admiral Vouglaris proclaimed the state's desire to divert the property of Jews to the welfare of Jews. This was more affirmation than law and changed virtually nothing. In December the so-called liberal Sophoulis

government summoned the Jewish Property Bureau to give a full accounting within a fortnight, so that their holdings could be restored to their heirs or, in their absence, to the state. Several days later the government postponed the execution of its own decree. The official pretext—confirmed to me in an interview with Sophoulis—was that the law had been poorly written, enabling one Jew to lay hands on many properties of distant defunct relatives. What really happened was that the tenants rushed a delegation down to Athens headed by an ex-cabineeteer who was prominent on the Salonika Liberal Party ticket in the impending elections.

THE Jews of southern Greece got off much easier. The EAM spirited Rabbi Eliahu Barzilay away from Athens to the mountains before the communal registers could be pressured out of him. On March 24, 1944 the Germans finally deported 900, but by that time the rest of the Jews were well under cover. Law Number 2 of the Papandreu government nullified quisling decree 1080 confiscating Jewish property in the south. Most of the Jews had already emerged from hiding and moved in anyway. But even here some were still forced to share homes with Greeks of dubious patriotism installed during the occupation. Ninety-five per cent of Jewish movable properties vanished; they had an estimated value of \$154,000,000. Any cash, gold, jewels or furniture which the Germans had overlooked was looted by starving Greeks for sale in time of famine. Recovery was rare because the Jews were not on hand to watch the spoilation.

Greece's Jewish population shrank from the 75,000 pre-war figure to scarcely 10,000. Of twenty-four surviving communities only Athens did not suffer a completely paralyzing blow; those deportees who failed to return were replaced by provincial Jews who took refuge in the capital and remained there after liberation, raising the population from 3,000 to 4,500. Other communities fall into three categories: seven which re-

tained more than half their Jews; five with less than half, but with the minimum of twenty families required to give each community legal existence under Greek law, and eleven which dropped under even that minimum. A year ago I pilgrimaged sadly across the former Bulgar occupation zone where Turk, Greek and Bulgar wrangled for centuries and where Jew at last had ceased to care. The dirty, sun-scorched town of Kavalla had 2,000 Jews before the war, now has 42. Didymoteikhon dwindled from 900 to 33, Komotina from 800 to 28, Xanthe from 550 to 6, Serres from 600 to 3. A sample breakdown by the Joint Distribution Committee in January of one such Jewish ruin (Didymoteikhon) shows "Shops restituted, 5, unrestituted, 75; houses restituted, 4, unrestituted, 160; facilities: synagogues, 1 destroyed; Hebrew schools, 2 occupied by government; dispensaries, 1 Greek; soup kitchens, none." The Komotina card index reveals "All in need—only one pair shoes received from UNRRA; rations under subsistence."

Almost 6,000 of the 9,000-odd Jews are classified as totally indigent. Another 700 get partial relief. UNRRA is barred by charter from giving special consideration to Jews. Jews and non-Jews together suffered from maldistribution of UNRRA supplies by the Greek authorities. Working under UNRRA, the JDC became the main support of shattered Jewry, aided by technical and administrative personnel of the British Committee for Relief Abroad and a Palestinian Magen David Adom team. Expenditures of American Jews for their Greek brethren are now around \$50,000 a month and are mounting. The Joint Distribution Committee made one miscalculation which throws shrouded light on the extent of the decimation suffered by Greek Jewry: they paid a non-Jewish asylum in advance for the maintenance of fifty Jewish aged and could only find eleven elderly Jews left in the entire country. Otherwise Joint Distribution Committee money is stretched as far as it can go—for food, clothing, shelters, medical care, education and emigration.

The greatest single drain on the budget for a long time, crippling the JDC's effectiveness, has been the government's insistence that relief dollars be converted at the official rate, despite inflation prices. The situation has improved since February when the government undertook various stabilization measures, but there is still no confidence in the drachma, and the Bank of Greece's gold supply is dwindling. Disaster threatens both Greece and the JDC when the gold sovereigns are exhausted.

GREEK Jewry is a convulsed microcosm of the Greek people, with all the stresses and strains now wracking the nation, plus some added refinements. There is conflict between Right and Left, between few rich and many poor, between deportees and non-deportees, between Zionists and non-Zionists. Concentration camps massacred the élite of Jewry. The physically stronger had the chance for greater survival. Most returnees therefore are simpler and less compromising folk. Like the harassed Greeks they distrust others and themselves; they lack leadership and the feeling of belonging. They expected a warm homecoming but the government ignored them. Non-deportees asked "Why did you escape the ovens and not my family?" Disillusioned, they have become aggressive. The JDC offices have more than once been stormed by deportees demanding impossible help. They have only one thought—to get away, no matter where.

Sixty Jewish families in all Greece managed to save the better part of their fortunes by camouflaging their control of corporations (aptly named *sociétés anonymes*) or concealing their merchandise. Their contribution to relief has been negligible. The JDC, for example, gave 7,500,000 drachmas for an orphanage, and the Greek Jews were able to scrape together only 200,000 drachmas as their share. The rich remember that money saved their lives when they used it to bribe non-Jews into hiding them during the occupation. They are afraid of leftists, Communists, Russians, everybody.

They are turning drachmas into gold as fast as they get them and burying the sovereigns for a quick getaway after a Bolshevik revolution or Russian invasion.

I TALKED with three Jewish EAMites. One was a disabled veteran of the Albanian War, the second a doctor who had been with ELAS in the mountains, the third an escapee from Auschwitz. They claim that three-fourths of the Jews who stayed in Greece and survived the occupation owe their lives to leftist militiamen who protected them or leftist sympathizers who hid them. Five hundred Salonika Jewish youths joined ELAS, and 150 of them were killed in action. In Athens Rabbi Barzilay, no leftist, admitted to me that when he went into the mountains he saw ELASites resisting. Most of the property restitutions to the Jews were made while ELAS was in power before the civil war; there have been few since, and only after monumental litigation.

Jewish radicals now complain they have been frozen out of the direction of Jewish affairs. They charge that the autonomous Central Board of Jewish Communities, created by the Papandreou Government soon after liberation, has sabotaged Jewish interests by emphasizing the need for emigration and not pressing for justice in Greece. The leftists had four delegates to the original Central Board; two died in the civil war; one was later ousted; and only one remains. The conservatives systematically block all leftist proposals. They even tried to prevent an EAMite orator from participating in recent memorial services for the lost deportees.

The moderates do not agree with the extremists that the Board has been treasonable to the Jewish Community. But they do concur that it has been unrepresentative and inefficient. The Board is still "provisional" and loaded with appointees of reactionary governments. No election has yet been held among the Jews to set up a permanent Board, although the last of the surviving deportees has been home for

more than a half year. It is alleged that the Board could have compelled the liberation government to nullify the property seizures in the north at the same time this was done for the south, but the first flush of generosity was allowed to die away through negligence. The moderates especially deplore the Board's confusion of communal with Zionist policy, thereby encouraging governmental indifference to the plight of the Jews here and now.

There are no anti-Zionist Jews in Greece—not even the Communists, who are for a national homeland but insist that the Jews here are Greek citizens, not transients, and should recover what is due them. Relief agency people agree with the moderates that the frenetic Zionists, by trumpeting Eretz Israel as the only salvation, encourage apathy and discontent. The Larissa community, totaling fifty-one Jews, of whom at least thirty are believed tubercular, listened to one itinerant Palestinian agent and concluded rapturously that deliverance was at hand. Despite repeated JDC entreaties, the Jews of Larissa lived another full year in their windowless, roof-leaking, wall-shattered hostel before applying for help in repairs. The Zionists are further resented because they demand extra-special treatment of candidates slated for Palestine. When thirty-two tons of food and clothing arrived as a gift from the Jews of Argentina to the Jews of Greece, Jewish Agency representatives in Athens precipitated a near riot by clamoring for the largest share as the indisputable right of the *hachsharoth*, the "preparation" camps for aspirants to Palestine. I was told the *hachsharoth* give practically no training to the future colonists except an inadequate smattering of Hebrew and a feeble stab at potato-planting. Investigation confirmed this, but there seem to be some good reasons which it is not desirable to discuss here.

How justified, however, is the Zionist argument that Greece is not worth fighting for? The Jews undoubtedly have grounds for a grudge against the govern-

ments they have dealt with until now. Many private Greeks undertook to care for Jewish property, moreover, and later refused to hand it back. One Nikos Houvardas purchased a whole Salonika district from the Germans where 15,000 Jews had lived, razed it and sold everything therein, including the wood and timber. In the half-wrecked synagogue which is the only building still standing in the Baron Hirsch Quarter (except an insane asylum and the tower where German machine gunners stood guard), I saw rats gamboling over government stores of foodstocks. The chairs of several other Salonika synagogues, marked with the Star of David, are still in certain coffee-houses in the city. The Burla Synagogue was transformed into a cabaret, and even after liberation the Metropolitan of Salonika tried to protect the owner from expulsion. Jewish tombstones from the ravaged cemetery are still embedded in Salonika pavements.

But these desecrations are almost exclusively restricted to one city, and are tolerated by governments which do not represent the Greek people, as the large boycott of the elections at the end of March demonstrated. To cite one case, many of the Jews saved in Athens were sheltered by non-Jews at great personal risk, and only the rich had to pay. Archbishop (later Regent) Damaskinos was personally responsible for the concealment of 250 Jewish children in Gentile homes under the noses of the Germans. The governments since liberation have been vicious or pusillanimous. They have impeded economic recovery to the equal detriment of Jew and non-Jew. They have allowed collaborationists to go unpunished and terrorism to flourish. Even so, one of these governments (Sophoulis) had the distinction before quitting office of having decreed the cession to the Jewish community of the state's rights over all unclaimed Jewish property—the first law of its kind in Europe.

Little good may be expected from the pro-royalist regime now moving in. The

Sophoulis law may take some time getting implemented. One of the leading lights of this regime is Gonatas, who, as Macedonian governor-general, presided over the Kambel riots fifteen years ago when mobs set fire to 2,000 Jewish houses. But there is no pogromist tradition in Greece. Anti-Semitism is infinitely less deep-rooted here than in Hungary or Rumania, countries which I have recently visited and where the need for emigration is far greater. There is hope for Jewish security and recovery, if the Greeks themselves are allowed to have the democratic government they desire.

That is why many here feel the Zionists are misguided in crying "On to Palestine!" on all occasions. At best, the possibilities for entry there are limited. Since liberation, Greece has been allotted only 210 Palestine certificates. Another 212 Jews chartered a Greek ship and smuggled themselves safely ashore below Tel Aviv, though eight Palestinian Jews were killed trying to conceal the Greeks' arrival from the British. Greek Zionists are stirring hopes which will take a long time to fulfill. Their critics contend that the campaign for total abandonment of Greece is also unfair to Jews of other even unhappier lands, in view of the over-all restraints on departure for Palestine.

Meanwhile life goes on for better or worse among Greek Jewry despite present distress and recollections of past horror. Last Sunday I attended a Sephardic wedding where the young groom was beginning another chapter three years after his first wife and baby, born in the Baron Hirsch Quarter, died at Auschwitz. The JDC has established a dowry fund to cope with the epidemic of marriages among the impoverished but energetic boys and girls of the *hachsharoth*. One day in February nine weddings took place simultaneously at the Patisia training camp. All nine brides were blooming—I mean blooming—but no shotguns were needed. The girls were big and happy, and wore veils made of mosquito netting. The JDC supplied wedding rings plus a full kit of kitchenware, including a kerosene stove. Layettes were also provided.

DEATH OF THE FLOWERS

Translated from the Hebrew by Jacob Sloan

ZALMAN SHNEOUR

. . . But happy the errant plant in a forgotten corner
No sower sowed in tears, nor reaper with joy shall harvest,
That blooms, bears fruit unheeded, and, in silence upgathered,
Pours ten thousand seeds of spirit into the soil.
Yea, though it cease to the light of the eye, inheritor—
Buds enough endure to scatter its fame
Among a thousand conserving and permanent beings:
Borne by wind and bird they sow stone and plain.

Oh, let us learn to die, comrades, like fruit of the growing green
With the largesse of wealth, the sere's exaltation;
Let each greet his end, yearning like a bride,
Scattering as she goes among poor wandering eagles
Her complete virtues to deck their lonely nests.
Let us not die like our fathers—the shame!
In misery, painfully trembling, faint
With famine, frost-bloatings, and rags, and stench . . .
Not scratch with dull nails, not grind our rotted teeth,
Not weep salt snot, not cringe at the skeleton's feet,
Not kiss the lowered scythe between our wills and life!
All the lores our fathers taught us, every science,
Yet they neglected one—the fine art of dying!
Lo, purified and gracious, it is writ in the book of the harvest,
Golden-silk embroidered on leaves, fine fruit and grasses.
All the plants excel at retaining the Last Solace,
Amid pain. They deepen rue like a song, light fires
Under decay. They raise Death's ease to State—
How they rise to Highness!

Let us learn that calm from them, the same melancholy.
Let the last of our days swirl away like the flame of fall,
And if our blood must spill, be it spattered on walls,
Lovely and wild, like these vines.
Then shall our scrolls unrolling, golden gourds,
Nourish and fructify . . . yea, till the white snows melt.

THE Yiddish and Hebrew novelist and poet, ZALMAN SHNEOUR, now lives in New York City. He was born in Shklov in Russia in 1887. JACOB SLOAN has translated poetry from the Yiddish and Hebrew, and writes poetry on his own. His *Generation of Journey* was published in 1945. He was born in Brooklyn in 1918 and attended Brooklyn College and the Jewish Theological Seminary. The translation above was taken from a larger work of Shneour's, *Where the Daisies Were Blooming*.

BERLIN APARTMENT HOUSE

Clinical Notes on the Average German Mind

HANS ADLER

IN THAT undamaged house in a half-ruined German city, a bit crowded but not too uncomfortable, live fifty average Germans, thirty-two females, eighteen males, all between the ages of seventeen and sixty-five. After the curfew hour, at 10:30 P.M., one finds in this house fifty hearts, fifty sets of lungs, fifty stomachs, ninety-nine legs (one boy lost a leg in the war), ninety-eight hands (two boys lost hands in the war), ninety-eight eyes (two boys lost eyes in the war), fifty brains, fifty minds.

Careful investigation reveals that none of the inhabitants has ever been an ardent or convinced Nazi. Only 10 per cent were Party members. Fifteen of the men were in the Wehrmacht; two of the women were Wehrmacht nurses. All the tenants now work or study. More than 50 per cent of them have been in contact with the occupation forces since Germany surrendered, and five men and five women currently work for the Americans. There are seven radio sets in the house and approximately two hundred books. All of the fifty people read the licensed papers. Two of the girls are involved in love affairs with American soldiers.

They seem to be average people. On the surface they appear, except for the fact

of defeat, to be not unlike fifty average Americans in an ordinary apartment house. But what does the word "average" mean when applied to Germans of today?

THE gentleman who lives in Room 19 is a grade-school teacher. He seems to be a quiet man, sober, energetic enough to overcome any difficulties that may lie ahead of him. Not cocky, not too depressingly humble. Nonetheless, talking with him, I become convinced that he would lie at the slightest provocation. He tells me that the question of anti-Semitism has never touched him closely. He says he realized long ago that the Nazis falsified many aspects of public life. Therefore, he is now willing to believe that Nazi propaganda about the Jewish people was also untrue. At the end of our conversation he asks me with utmost seriousness whether I am aware of the fact that Germany is to become a British dominion.

The woman in the room opposite is forty years old, and as healthy, clean and wholesome looking as a picture of an American housewife in a breakfast-food ad. Her son is one of the young men who lost an eye during the war. But she is cheerful and bright, and talks with confidence on almost any subject.

Her son's misfortune? She speaks calmly about it. She declares that the sergeant in charge of her son's infantry squad was probably a Jew who had succeeded in deceiving the German army authorities. Ergo, her son's disfigurement is the logical outcome of the fact that his leader in combat was (allegedly) a Jew. She has, so she admits "frankly," a strong dislike and contempt for the Jews. "Frankly," she always had. Why? "Frankly," she just always

HANS ADLER is an official of the AMG in Germany, and is currently serving as an editor of Radio Frankfurt. A nephew of the famous Viennese psychologist, Alfred Adler, he fled from Germany in 1939 and came to America. Before the war, he did research work with the Anti-Defamation League in Chicago; he volunteered for the Army and was assigned to the intelligence division. He saw service in Alaska, in the Pacific and in Europe, where he was assigned to the Luxemburg radio station. Mr. Adler has been contributing to magazines in this country for several years.

had. Could she change her mind? "Frankly," she doesn't think so. And then, suddenly, she shoots a question at me: "Do you Americans like frank admissions or do you prefer lies?" I tell her that her very question is an insult. Naturally, we want the truth! She's less sure of herself after that, but she still maintains: "I have only contempt for the Jews."

As for the future, she says everyone knows that Germany will be a British dominion. She uses the same phrases as the teacher across the hall. I ask her if she knows him. Certainly, she answers, he visits us every evening. . . . Germany will become a British dominion. Russia will withdraw from Germany and receive much of China for compensation. The United States will also withdraw and, for compensation, will receive some territory in Africa or somewhere else. . . . Haven't I heard?

IN THE attic room lives an ex-farmer from Memel, whose farm was bombed out. I feel that he is being very precise and shrewd in everything he says, but he makes an effort to appear spontaneous in his answers to my questions. I tell him what his neighbors are saying about the future of Germany as a British dominion. He answers: "Nonsense! German stupidity has, at times, no boundaries. Nonsense! How can anyone believe such a thing?"

Jews? Jews are all right by him. Why, he is even willing to forget the Jewish cattle dealers. What are they compared with the men presently to be judged in Nuremberg?

Slave-workers? The foreign workers who were brought to labor on his farm most certainly had a lot to learn from him about proper methods of farming. I ask him whether he thought it was right in the first place to bring these people to Germany and force them to work on his farm. It may not have been right, he admits—but they certainly had plenty to learn from a real farmer.

Finally, he asks me a couple of questions: "Is it true that Germans will not be allowed to marry for four years? Why are you

Americans so set on reducing the German population?"

The three people in Room 14—two brothers and one sister—are eager to tell everyone about their latest acquisition, recently unearthed: a Jewish grandmother. Yes indeed, the old lady has at last come into her own! Many, unbelievably many Germans have suddenly turned up with Grandma herself or a record of her religious affiliation—a proud possession in Germany today. Granny's vague relationship to Abraham, many Germans feel, will surely pave the way for a passport, a general *laissez-passer*, a C. I. C.-clearance . . . *nein?* Well then, doesn't Grandmother's suddenly discovered descent from the prophets entitle them at least to a couple of additional ration-cards? *Ja?*

The occupants of Room 14, however, are by no means overcome with remorse for the misdeeds perpetrated against their quasi and partial co-religionists. Their stress upon Semitism is obviously nothing more than sheer opportunism; many other Germans are doing likewise these days.

I then check with the members of the family for current rumors. They yield a stunner. "Is it true," asks the sister, "that big ditches are being dug in Berlin for the purpose of burying the bodies of the 1,250,000 people who are expected to die there this year?"

The forty-year-old watchmaker in Room 15 immediately expresses his disappointment that the drives to rebuild synagogues for the Jews are not receiving support from any section of the population. Despite his interest in synagogues, however, he is still unwilling to treat the Jew as an equal. He is willing to treat the Jew as a special class, why he is even willing to treat the Jew as a privileged class, but he is not willing to treat the Jew as an equal. He explains it is absurd to believe that "International Jewry" has won the war. Yet, he is firmly convinced that there is such an agent as "International Jewry."

The watchmaker also has a rumor. He has heard from "reliable sources" that only

four of the accused at the Nuremberg trial have been found guilty.

As I leave his room, I accidentally glance at his calendar. It shows the date May 9, 1944, the day of the official German surrender. And then—to my own surprise—I hear myself say: "Why don't you tear off the calendar sheets? What's the idea? Is that supposed to be a symbol? Any day after May 9th isn't worth living . . . is that the way you feel about it? The months, days, hours after May 9th aren't 'time' at all. That's the way you feel, don't you? These months and days are just humiliation, right? They are blanks. You ignore them. But you'll tear off sheets again the very day the last Americans, British, French and Russians have left the country. That's the way you feel . . . come on . . . isn't it true?"

He is deadly embarrassed, speechless. He stands before me—naked.

IN ROOM 2 are a librarian in the early fifties and his wife. The man is fat and pudgy; his wife appears to be suffering from malnutrition. She adores him; her eyes never leave him for a minute. His willingness to talk is startling. He knows all the issues and has a solution for all problems.

"Without a doubt," he asserts, "the split

between Russia and the Western allies is bound to come any hour now." Don't I know? Don't I know, really, that the Americans and British are recruiting German soldiers even now for the imminent war with Russia?

He enlarges on this subject endlessly. I have a hard time slipping in my cue: anti-Semitism.

Instantly he becomes very cordial, almost jovial. I can see he has his "line" on this question right in his pocket. He takes it out now.

"My good man, whether anti-Semitism is justified or not is now unimportant. Germany is now in the fortunate position of having no Semitic problem at all. Why try to create one? Why try to establish Jewish communities? You know, I always opposed persecution of the Jews, but actually the best way to avoid persecution of the Jews is not to have any Jews to persecute. The methods of the Nazis were REGRETABLE. The results were GOOD. . . ."

At that moment I interrupt. Turning to his wife, I ask her: "Do you share the views of your husband, madam?" She hesitates. The fat man looks at her sternly. Finally she says: "I do. Completely. I do." The fat man's face relaxes.

FROM THE AMERICAN SCENE

THE JEWISH STATIONERY STORE

Portrait of an American Institution

ROSE A. ENGLANDER

WHEN the New York Telephone Company gave my father a dollar-a-week raise in 1896, just as he got married, my mother was ecstatic. "But how will we spend \$10 a week?" she asked.

That was before they became parents. With my eldest sister, ambition was born—the Jewish parental ambition to give the children "everything." It goaded Papa and Mama from the placid status of the salaried-

Like the actor's child who is practically born onstage, ROSE A. ENGLANDER first saw the light of day within sight and sound of her parents' struggles and triumphs—in the flat above their Jersey City stationery store. Until she married Samuel Englander, a classmate at the School of Journalism of Columbia University in 1929, she was never far removed, physically or spiritually, from the stationery store. The Papa and Mama of whom she writes will celebrate their golden wedding anniversary this month. Up to five years ago, when she retired to a Yonkers hilltop to manage a home and write articles like this, Mrs. Englander was an active newspaper and publicity woman. She worked for six years in the woman's department of the New York *World-Telegram* and also served with the public relations staff of the National Refugee Service. During the war-years she held a volunteer job as publicity chairman of the War Council of Yonkers. She is currently writing a book of family sketches, *My Sisters and I*. This is the second in a series of studies of Jewish institutions in the American scene which began with Ruth Glazer's "The Jewish Delicatessen" in the March *COMMENTARY*. Coming in future issues: "The Jewish Dairy Store," "The Jewish Caterer: Arbiter of American Integration," "The Kosher Butcher," etc.

man-with-homemaking-wife into the tougher partnership of a candy store. By the time they had a quartet of daughters the candy store was a stationery store. Onward and upward.

This is the traditional line of evolution: At the beginning is the candy store. Wed it with a soda fountain and they may produce a husky luncheonette. Or mate it with a cigar-and-cigarette stand and in time there may be a fine little stationery store, which may grow to be a BIG stationery store.

In our day of specialization there are even greater heights to scale. One is the toy and sports shop, or "Hobby House." This discards all the stationery store's dusty clutter—the candy case, cigar and cigarette corner, the fly-paper and three-cent stamp—but retains the dolls, shiny toy autos, building blocks, puzzles, roller and ice skates. Added are such swank items as skis and archery sets—and fantastically priced rocking horses with real hair tails.

From the lowly candy store may also evolve, as time goes on, the full-fledged commercial stationery house. Along with the candy and smokes, this one tosses out the toys as well. Instead of the sheet-of-writing-paper-and-envelope for a penny and five pen nibs for a cent, this handsome establishment sells heavy bond paper by the ream, noiseless typewriters and lifetime fountain pens that write under water. Its most important customers are the purchasing agents for soulless business organizations in nearby office buildings.

But these are the dizzy tops of the ladder. The little candy store seldom hopes to rise so high. Of course, it has its own snobberies.

It has an arched eyebrow for the equally poor but dishonest black sheep of the *mish-pocha*—the bare-looking store, thinly stocked, which fronts for a backroom bookie place and fools nobody, not even the police. When the cops come to these places selling annual benefit tickets at a dollar a throw, they count out not two or four but fifty tickets—and no eyelash flickers on either side of the counter.

OF SUCH *chochmas* my father knew nothing. To him, as to thousands of storekeepers then and since, a candy store is a candy store, a decent if arduous way to make a living and bring up a family. Papa's first store, on Third Avenue and 82nd Street, served humble folk to the east, and to the west the "sports" from Lexington, Madison, Park and Fifth Avenues from 79th to 84th Streets. High silk hat and turtleneck sweater were often in the store at the same time. There was also a dachshund from the saloon across the street who came and stood patiently every afternoon until someone put a *Staats Zeitung* in his mouth. Because Papa's new business included a healthy newspaper route, he felt twice blessed, and paid heavily—with borrowed money—to the man he was buying out.

To Papa and his contemporaries a paper route meant reveille between 4 and 5 A.M. It meant waiting on the nearest Third Avenue "El" station for the train from which his bundle of morning papers would come hurtling to the platform.

On a weekday morning the storekeeper divided this bundle between two strong backs—his and the helper's—and off they went to deliver. But on Sundays the massive papers meant endless trips from station to store, supplementing muscle with the baby carriage.

Back home Mama was up, waiting to pounce on the first bundle. The magazine and book sections, or the comic and scandal supplements, depending on the paper you read, were already in the store, having been delivered earlier in the week. Now, fast as the freshly printed news sections arrived, Mom "folded in" the whole paper with lightning fingers. Her sister, who worked in a factory and stayed over Saturday nights, helped fold. Meanwhile Pop and the boy ran back to the "El" station for more. And

so it went until—in the blackness that precedes 6 A.M. in the city—they left for their fashionable route.

This went on day after day, month in and month out, for years. The route was sacred, for no matter what happens no candy store man would lightly deprive his customers of their *Times*, *Heralds*, *Tribunes*, *Worlds*, *Journals* or *Presses*. Not even with a pre-pneumonia gripe or a bad foot. Papa got through the foot infection with the help of that same sister of Mama's. She pushed the baby carriage and did as much of the stairs-running as she could.

As for the boy helper, he varied. I suppose there were storekeepers so poor in relatives that they had to hire strangers. But from the time Mama was a bride of seven weeks, she and Papa were never to be lonely. There was always a greenhorn brother from Europe or a desperately poor cousin studying medicine, to occupy the cot in the combination stock room and guest chamber. So many relatives lived with us while working their way through an education that Mama in time named our place the "Candy College."

MAMA's day began with Papa's, at about 4 A.M. After his first breakfast she bolted the door behind him, built up the back-room fire for the babies and the store fire for the customers. She sterilized bottles, made formulas, fed the children, put diapers to soak, dressed herself and with the first faint flicker of morning light in the sky found courage to unlock the store. If the trade was for newspapers only, she didn't come out. The papers were on the outside stand and the customer could leave his penny. Often the next buyer picked up both paper and pennies.

But the tinkle of the door's bell meant inside trade. Mama would deposit the infant daughter on the bed soft with heaped-up *perenias*, trip over the toddling daughter, and come out drying her hands on her apron.

Mama was strict about being fully dressed before unlocking the front door. She was a good-looking young redhead and uninterested in admiring glances from "loafers." She'd rather stand five minutes—she often told Papa—by the candy case while a kid changed his mind ten times between orange

slices, twelve for a penny, or "likrish" shoestrings, five for a penny, than sell some fresh guy his two cigarettes from an open pack of Jack Rose or Sweet Caporals.

In time she learned what several generations of candy store wives have since learned—that the loafers and hangers-on are necessary evils. They are both "store fixtures" and customers. They talk themselves dry and buy refreshment—gum, candy, a drink. Pop sold them either shaved-ice-with-thick-fruit-syrup or a dash of the syrup and squirt of seltzer. Today they spend a nickel or a dime for a coke.

The year we got "classy" and installed a phone, a custom was born that is still legitimate in nine candy stores out of ten. (The tenth will probably go *mehullah*.) The hangers-on adopt the phone number as their own. They give it to friends and bookies. If the storekeeper is lucky, they hang around at specified times to receive important calls. If not, the busy man can grumble and threaten to tear the phone booth out by the roots—in the end he goes or sends for the missing party.

And why not? You've got to oblige the customers.

When there were places to live in and maids to clean them, a friendly candy store man was often the unofficial clearing house between landlords searching for tenants and vice versa. Both maid and mistress told him their needs and he kept an eye open. (We had an enterprising colleague who even posted a bulletin board where the neighbors tacked up cards stating their wants. All he got out of it was good will and the sale of thumb tacks.)

For that matter, Pop was gracious to the ladies with big hats and snugly tied veils who would buy a profitless two-cent stamp, proffer a five-dollar bill and plead, "Oh PLEASE won't you lick the stamp so I don't have to undo my veil?" He was friendly to the old woman in housedress and felt slippers who knew from past kindnesses that the storekeeper's educated daughter would write letters for her. (A time-honored East-European Jewish profession, incidentally—scribe to the *goyim*.) He never spurned the neighbors who came in for help in filling out forms—anything officially frightening like requests for citizenship papers or a plea to

Civil Service for a street-paver's job. He never progressed to becoming a notary public or an income tax expert, though he had extra forms to supply. But that was much later. Nor did Mama quite achieve the status of informal case worker and medical adviser to neighborhood women that many candy store wives attain. Too busy.

(Not to be stuffy about it, yet one wonders, in terms of public relations—that much worshiped phrase—how much it has meant to the Jews to have these plain, hard-working Jewish families dotting all the neighborhoods of the metropolis, living their lives day after day intertwined with the humble intimate routines of their Gentile neighbors. They celebrate Brotherhood Week every week in the year.)

In any case, the candy store motto, like that of a more royal house, is "*Ich Dien.*" Whether 1896 or 1946, a rubber check bounces—but storekeepers still cash checks for customers. Under pressure they still give credit till pay day, preferring to avoid friction with the *goy* whose friendly insolence can veer dangerously close to anti-Semitism. No change there!

OVER the years the day's shifting scenes are still much the same. The neat and busy morning folks grab papers and hurry to work. The shiftless amble down for later editions, jackets buttoned over collarless, tieless shirts. Housewives drift in bundle-laden from morning marketing to pick up *Hot Stories*; they look better in the afternoon when, hair tight-ringleted and bodies tight-corseted, they stop for a pack of cigarettes en route to the movies or bridge game.

The children make their first mass appearance after lunch, with pennies to spend on the way back to school. The real children's hour begins at three in the afternoon and lasts an hour or more. It involves sodas, cokes, chewing gum, candy, toys—plus much giggling and horsing around among the older boys and girls.

The day continues in waves. The betting fraternity almost rip the late sports edition from the stands. The working folk who hurried *that* way in the morning now hurry *this* way in the evening. Alas, most of them already have papers under their arms, but they do buy smokes.

After supper is like the finale of a musical comedy, with everybody onstage again and business at its best. The candy store man does not ring down the final curtain until the last of the movie crowd has straggled home and that can be after midnight. It's a long day.

The children deserve more than casual mention, for they are and always will be the storekeeper's meat, drink and poison.

Only a crab would scold the tiny, timid ones who take up time-honored battle stations, pressing runny noses and greasy hands on the windows, pointing and dreaming of riches to buy "that an' that an' that." The bigger ones, who can read—at least the funnies—sprawl all over the newsstand, blocking traffic, riffling through paper after paper to steal a quick read. Every half-hour or so you go out and wipe them off like dust. And like dust they settle back.

Still it is well to remember: these children are your steady customers too. They came to Papa for their bubble gum, their yo-yos, their pogo sticks, kazooos and "kakamamies," pictures to be spat on and transferred to backs of grimy hands. And now they come to Papa's successor for their comics—*Superman*, *Captain Marvel*, *Krazy Komics* and dizzying dozens of others. New comics blossom monthly, crowd the magazine racks, give the storekeeper a migraine headache when he reckons the weekly bundle of unsold "returns." But it's the current plague and he must take it or leave the profits.

Besides, was it any easier years ago to untangle thousands of long frail elastics when "return balls" were the craze? There were long periods when no self-respecting little girl would be seen on the street without one end of an elastic looped about her middle finger, the other plugged into a small ball that bounced on sidewalk or wall and snapped back to the hand like a homing pigeon.

We kept the balls in one box, elastics in the other and at each sale had to wiggle one pesky elastic from the twisted mass, knot it and poke it into the ball's tiny opening. Every child expected this service for her three cents. Once we experimented and used some spare time to assemble a boxful of balls with elastics inserted, ready for sales.

We were good and sorry. Then we *really* had a Laocoön act on our hands.

Ah well, the candy store man has always been purveyor to youth's fads and fancies. And he learns to purvey in a hurry, lest impatient youth calm itself with a little harmless shoplifting. But the kids weren't so bad. Some gangs did steal from outdoor displays or upset the newsstand on big nights like Hallowe'en. Some startled us by jerking open the door, yelling "sheeny" and stampeding off. We shrugged casual shoulders. Routine.

When it was serious stuff—when our wooden Indian was stolen—that was the work of adults. The kind man who ran in to tell Mama the Indian was being dragged down the block even helped her chase the thief. It was a third man, waiting in a hallway, who then stepped in and robbed the till.

In Jewish neighborhoods storekeepers sometimes suffered from real gang attacks—broken windows, large-scale robberies and anti-Semitic violence, including stink bombs. Only where the Jewish boys themselves organized gangs and fought back was there a respectful cessation. Which may or may not be an idea for today.

WHEN my parents had two daughters and an incipient me, they decided to cross the Rubicon from candy to stationery. They also crossed a real river—the Hudson—for the new store was in Jersey City.

The stationery store being a step up socially as well as economically, our back rooms were now stock rooms and we lived upstairs in a cold-water railroad flat. The division between store and home, however, was pure theory. Actually the two lives were welded. The daily decision was always "Who's changing Papa for dinner?" or "Who's giving Papa his nap?"

At first we had a long pole to summon Papa or Mama from upstairs when trade got too brisk for the child left on duty below. The little helper would climb from a low bundle to a high one, on to a counter and then "bang" into the ceiling with a pole. Later Papa installed a buzz button which seldom worked—and finally, a telephone extension with crank handle. This was nice except that someone was always leaving the

switch in wrong gear and cutting either house or store from contact with the outside world.

Christmas, New Year's, St. Valentine's Day, Easter, "Fourth of July," September school opening, Hallowe'en, Thanksgiving and so to Christmas again—the store changed with the Zodiac.

Once a year, like every stationer's family, we lived and slept above a munitions dump for one breathless month. The City Hall permit stipulated that July 4th fireworks could be stored on the premises only from June 10 to July 10—and that was plenty! Also that a "No Smoking" sign be posted and a guard stationed to wrest lighted cigars, cigarettes and pipes from protesting customers.

"That's a fifteen-cent cigar and I just lit it," was the common wail.

You watched kid customers like hawks. Their idea of fun was to buy tiny packets of linked firecrackers which spluttered and exploded one from the other. The general intent was to light the first cracker, sneak the packet through the chicken wire fence surrounding the stronger explosives—and get out without being caught.

Some of the larger cannon crackers were powerful. A fifty-cent salute bought and tossed by a playful drunk shattered every bottle and mirror in Rountree's saloon across the street and splintered Rountree's wooden leg. "Safe and sane" unburnable sparklers sent hundreds of children to the hospital annually.

But ah, the aroma of punk, the hiss and sizzle of flower pots, the exquisite flowering of Roman candles! And ah, thank God, the growing public respect for life and limb, the ever tightening legal restrictions that finally put an end to this glorious mayhem.

At Easter the store was crowded with chocolate rabbits and stuffed rabbits, candy eggs, dainty pink and white "panorama" eggs and baskets to be filled and trimmed. And today I wonder—are there still little stationery store girls so carried away by the aesthetics of Easter basket trimming as to forget profits and Papa's ire and put in too much of everything?

Christmas—the highlight, the big money month of the year. Our store literally overflowed upstairs. Cartons of bisque baby

dolls were stacked from piano to ceiling in the parlor, and the large old-fashioned bathroom was taken over, tub and all. We bathed at a neighbor's. The whole family worked itself into a frazzle, the children fell behind in homework and everyone was cheerful because business was good. Even in recent war years, when customers had to be convinced that wooden toys are as good as metal and will break almost as fast, Yule business was fine. But oh, the exhaustion on the night of December 24!

New Year's still means horns, but not nearly so much confetti and serpentine paper as in my youth. The torn-up telephone book has taken their place. But when my sisters and I were growing up in layers and successively going out with beaux in that other postwar period, we couldn't go out on New Year's Eve no matter how many parties we were invited to. We had to sell horns for other celebrators to blow and confetti for them to toss through the air.

Valentine's Day is still one of the stationer's big greeting-card seasons, minus the charms of the penny sheets with their insulting cartoons and sentiments. Nor are dollar Valentines edged with real lace so plentiful today. The entire greeting-card business has changed. When people spent great sums on cards each holiday, the handsome profits were exclusively the candy store's or stationer's. Came the 5-and-10, came mass production and cheaper cards, and we lost our monopoly. Public taste changed too. Gooey sentiment went out and lightheartedness came in. There is now less of the "Let me take your hand in mine, dear friend, for I am ever thine" on the racks and more of the "Nuther birthday? Don't fret. On you it's becoming." And in this era of specialization, the dealer must now carry birthday greetings to babes from one and two years up, cards to my wife, my husband, my sister, brother, mother, mother-in-law, father and fifth cousin once removed.

Saddest of all, buying a season's greeting cards is no longer a rare and delightful outing for the stationer and his wife. When Mama and Papa took their annual trip to New York immediately after Easter to order the Christmas cards, and vice versa, they were treated like visiting firemen and taken to lunch by the Dennison salesman. Mama

adored all this and Papa liked it, except for the genteel custom of serving only two thin slices of bread and butter with a meal.

MY SISTERS and I lived in the store. It was in the store that we first found culture. Papa, supplementing the family income, took on a branch of the public library. As soon as our "big sister" could write numbers on a card, she took charge of this heavenly spot, and raced through as many books as possible before the card owners claimed them. Sometimes she glared at people who asked for a particular unfinished treasure.

We all read in the store. It was crime No. 1, for displays of fountain pens and boxes of candy disappeared at such times, but we committed it. We also took books and magazines from stock and read them upstairs at meals. Mom complained that we spilled food on them.

"Did you make that book *milchik* or *fleishik*?" she would ask bitterly.

Often we'd hide behind a rampart of stock, deep in a book, while customers stood around waiting for someone to show up and serve them. My youngest sister could so lose herself as to sit in the middle of the store and weep heartbrokenly over a sad story. When nudged to get on the job, she would walk up to a customer with teared eyes and quaver, "Can I help you?"

How could we not read in the store? On the shelves were everything from *Ruth Fielding of the Red Mill* to cheap editions of Shakespeare. The magazine racks ran the gamut from *True Confessions* to *Vanity Fair, olav hasholem*. I read the latter and thrilled to sophisticated pieces by Clare Boothe Brokaw, later Congresswoman Luce. I read the former and wondered how could an engaged girl have a baby when she wasn't yet married?

Every store has a spot where the family hangs out. Ours was the wrapping counter. The only uncluttered stretch in the place, it was fine for spreading out the homework books of four girls from Grade 1A through college. It was just a nice height to jump up and sit on, too, and as I grew up and kept half of my dates in the store, particularly on quiet Sunday afternoons, I came to look on the wrapping counter as a sort of shady, secluded lover's nook. (In

this connection I scrupulously speak for myself, though I doubt if my three attractive sisters had less initiative than I.)

We weren't the only "stationery store girls" to cram for college finals in a corner of a busy store. Jewish girls aplenty have taken degrees (many well in the upper thirds of their classes) with tuitions paid from the tills of kosher butcher shops, delicatessens, groceries, drygoods stores and junk yards. The business Jewish parents live by is not important; what does matter is their burning ambition to get sons and daughters out of the tough retail bracket and into something better, preferably professional.

IN THE candy and stationery business, as the cliché goes, "You get out of it what you put into it"—in investment, labor and brains. The mortality rate of stores has been estimated at some 10 per cent a year—primarily because some view it as a "last resort" business to be entered into with no experience, small capital, and a hope of somehow muddling through.

Some can, some can't. Men who know have told me this: that even today with a thousand dollars, you can rent a store and put in modest stock—if you know a jobber. Many ex-GI's and former war workers are going into the little candy store business, with its simpler stock and fixtures, because even the humblest of groceries, let's say, cannot be started with less than five thousand capital. And because a thousand-dollar investment is hardly likely to pay the entrepreneur a living wage after meeting costs, some of the war workers and veterans will have to give up and go job-hunting. The peanut scale of this kind of enterprise may send up the mortality rate, for it takes two or three thousand to start a "living" stationery store today.

Many stationers, like my father, never start a store but always buy an established business. This initial investment, including that intangible but expensive commodity, good will, comes higher but carries more security. Papa paid out sixteen hundred dollars for his first business—and that was a half a century ago. But he got a small, firmly established store in a good neighborhood and with a good newspaper route.

(The sixteen hundred came from Mama's girl friends, all working in factories and all saving for potential husbands. They were so eager to help, they oversubscribed the loan.)

Once your store establishes itself, the chances are good—not that you're apt to get rich, but (with the whole family working and no outside hired help) you can make a fair living. Figures gathered just before the war, which are not believed to have changed to any great extent since then, indicate that successful storekeepers today earn from about \$1,590 to about \$2,900 per year.

My statistical friends tell me that of all the candy and stationery outlets in the East some three-fourths are Jewish. It seems still to be one of the basic "Jewish" businesses, bulking large—though well under 50 per cent—in the total of Jewish-owned stores. But they hazard no guess as to why.

Certainly it isn't picked for ease of life. Certainly not for social gain. Our friends in the drygoods business were in a "nice clean line" and made more money than we. On the other hand our butcher's daughters lived in a much less appetizing atmosphere—and had even less *yichus*.

And, as I have said, the hours are nothing to attract any but the most diligent. It is only lately that the candy store man and the stationer began to realize that they too are human beings with the right to close occasionally, and some of them even join the Chamber of Commerce or the Retail Trade Association. We were drilled in the tough routine of eighteen hours a day, seven days a week, but a storekeeper can now go to the movies two nights a week and get a coat of tan on occasional summer half-days (including Sundays).

Yes, today there are candy store keepers and stationers who don't walk at a harassed

trot when leaving the store for a few hours. There are even, people tell us, a few who find time to take part in Jewish community affairs.

To us this is amazing. Papa and his contemporaries were as Orthodox as the next fellow, but they saw the inside of a *shul* only on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, when the store was closed tight and a *Shabbus goy* tended the newsstand. Those were the only days in the year when the customers couldn't get in—but they got their papers nevertheless. He also wrested himself away for a half-hour's *Yortsait* observance. But when it came to a *Kaddish* he had to hire someone for \$50 to \$100 to ensure the continuity of the three daily prayers for eleven months following his parents' death.

CAME the time when their four daughters were all married and set up in housekeeping—one to a newspaperman, one to a mortgage expert, the other two to lawyers, all fairly "comfortable"—so Mama and Papa decided, "Enough is enough." They retired comparatively young, in their early 50's, but it was, as they said, "*schoin tsait*." They were tired. Never, for one hour, had they lived for themselves.

So they sold the business, settled down to doing nothing—and nearly went out of their wits. The nostalgia with which they haunted their friends' stores to "help out a little" was heartbreaking.

Then Mama discovered the Sisterhood. Papa began helping the *shul* get itself out of the red. They soon found other places that could use an energetic couple—drives for the orphaned and aged, drives for European Jews, drives for Palestine and drives for the community chests.

Today, in their newfound profession, they still keep candy-store hours.

THE MONTH IN HISTORY

Hunger

IN THE SPRING of 1946 the world was a suppliant before the heads of the three great states. They were exercising the most basic and direct kind of power: the distribution of food to keep men alive. They and their representatives sat before maps and lists of figures deciding which people could be allowed to die with the least offense to the conscience of mankind and the least upset to their respective national interests.

Chinese and Indians died of starvation quietly and the process was difficult to observe. Some experts thought that thirty—possibly forty—million Chinese would have to be written off. It was hard to see how India could last out the year without ten million dead of starvation.

In Europe, the face of famine was ironic: in both Axis and Allied countries, Europeans were eating less than they had eaten during the war.

In Germany and Japan, the problem was simple. It was either food or more American soldiers to prevent revolt; and it was easier to send food.

Outside the Western Hemisphere, only a handful of men had enough to eat.

The conscience of America was becoming

In this regular department, SIDNEY HERTZBERG seeks to provide an objective and unpartisan monthly report of Jewish affairs in their relationship to world events. His difficult and occasionally arduous assignment is to set down current events as history, not as headlines. He brings to this task the perspective gained by years of study of the stuff of history, and lengthy experience as a news analyst and editor with *Current History*, *Time*, the *New York Times* and *Common Sense*. He is at the moment working to increase U. S. famine relief to nations abroad. His reports, like other contributions to *COMMENTARY*, reflect the writer's judgment, and do not necessarily express the opinion of the editors.

uneasy. In the face of the greatest hunger in history, the people who were eating better than any people in the world had ever eaten, were not even being asked to sacrifice. They were being asked only to stop wasting; only to suffer the slight inconvenience of a change in eating habits, to eat oatmeal instead of wheaties—not because it would improve their health, which it would—but because it would help save lives.

The three great states also had the power to make or break nations and national hopes. In early May, the United Nations met in the Bronx. But, insofar as there was any united action to determine the fate of the world, such action was taking place in Paris, at a meeting of the foreign ministers of the great powers.

The faint traces of idealism that had found their way into the war against the fascists had by now disappeared. The common man and his four freedoms were somewhere on the agenda of the various commissions of the United Nations; there was no overt sign that they figured at all in the deliberations of men who wielded power in Paris. There seemed no longer to be human beings in the world. There were only Germans who had to be punished, French who had to be avenged, Jews who were wronged, Russians who were monsters or angels, British who were imperialists, and Americans who seemed confused.

The Report

IN THIS world picture, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry brought in its report. The Committee had been charged with determining what could be done for one of the most badly treated of the world's ill-treated peoples. It consisted of six Americans and six Englishmen, none of them world famous, few of them known outside their own communities, few of them with any par-

ticular previous knowledge of the problems involved in their assignment.

Their unanimous report seemed a humane, judicious and progressive document. It was only a document, a set of recommendations with no legal force except what Britain and possibly the United States might give it. But, the world being what it was, even a good document was to be cherished. And should the document—in all its parts—become actual governmental policy, it would confirm the belief of the faithful that Palestine was a land of miracles.

The Committee was a mixed group. Its members were Englishmen and Americans, and they held widely varying social beliefs. Yet their report was unanimous. There seemed to be fundamental beliefs held in common that made it possible for them to achieve unity on a report that did not avoid specific answers to one of the bitterest controversies of the 20th century.

These beliefs, characteristic of the best in the culture from which the men came, might have been a broad humanitarianism which impelled them to urge the immediate admission of 100,000 homeless Jews into Palestine, a hankering for the brotherhood of man which led them to reject Jewish and Arab nationalism, and a belief in freedom and equality which impelled them to emphasize equal rights and opportunities on every level for Arabs, Christians and Jews.

A more cynical view would be that their unity was dictated by the urgent necessity to find a common Anglo-American policy for a part of the world where Anglo-American interests were threatened. If the policy turned out to be a just one, that was a coincidence. But the coincidence may have been significant of the basic quality of Anglo-American aims—if not actions—in the world in 1946. Few observers thought the report's recommendations were realizable. The burden of most comment was that it was an interesting try but really no solution. What these observers meant was that there was no such thing as a solution to problems in 1946.

What Zionists Got

What did the Zionists get out of the Committee's ten recommendations? The Zionists had concentrated on three demands: 1) control of immigration; 2) abolition of restrictions on the sale of land; 3) a Jewish state as soon as a Jewish majority was achieved.

The Zionists won their second demand (in which most other Jews had joined), but were vigorously turned down on the others. The Committee urged the immediate admission of 100,000 Jewish victims of Nazi persecution; but this too had been almost universally urged. Anticipating such a recommendation Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, President of the Zionist Organization of America, had warned when the Committee first opened its hearings:

"It should be clearly understood by everyone, and more especially by the members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, that the rescue of a certain number of refugees alone, however vital and urgent, is not Zionism nor is it the Balfour Declaration nor the Palestine Mandate."

The report was too easily hailed as a repudiation of the 1939 White Paper. The White Paper was reversed in two respects: 1) its insistence on acquiescence of the Arabs to any Jewish immigration; and 2) the restrictions on the purchase of land. The rejection of these two policies by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry would have been more comforting to Zionists had it implied an opposite policy—unrestricted immigration and unrestricted land purchase. But the Committee, after urging the entry of 100,000 homeless Jews as an emergency measure, favored continuation of the control of immigration by the mandatory on the old basis of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, which presumably would mean economic absorptivity. The Committee specifically rejected the notion that Jews should be able to settle in Palestine "as of right." And the Committee also favored some regulation of land purchase to protect Arab small holdings.

Rebuild in Europe

As both a practical suggestion and a theory, the complete exodus of the Jews from Europe was rejected by the Committee. It found that a considerable number of Jews would continue to live in most European countries and that in any case "the mass emigration of all European Jews would be of service neither to the Jews themselves nor to Europe."

The Committee therefore urged that

"every effort should be made to enable the Jews to rebuild their shattered communities, while permitting those Jews, who wished to do so, to emigrate." It recommended that the Anglo-American governments, in association with other countries, try immediately to find new homes for those who wanted to emigrate. For those who would continue to live in Europe, it recommended "that our governments endeavor to secure that immediate effect is given" to the human rights provisions of the United Nations Charter.

Noting that the Nazis had left a legacy of anti-Semitism in Europe, the Committee offered this advice:

"The only really effective antidotes are the enforcement by each government of guaranteed civil liberties and equal rights, a program of education in the positive principles of democracy, the sanction of a strong world public opinion—combined with economic recovery and stability."

For the Displaced

The Committee's recommendations on immigration into Palestine were divided into immediate and long-range proposals. Its first proposal, universally urged and commended except by Arab spokesmen, was:

"That 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jews who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution; that these certificates be awarded as far as possible in 1946 and that actual immigration be pushed forward as rapidly as conditions will permit."

The Committee noted that "receiving so large a number will be a heavy burden on Palestine," but felt sure it could be handled.

In an earnest appeal, obviously intended for the Arabs, the Committee said:

"We hope that they will look upon the situation again, that they will appreciate the considerations which have led us to our conclusions, and that above all, if they cannot see their way to help, at least they will not make the position of these sufferers more difficult."

Absorptivity Again

On the matter of immigration after the 100,000 homeless were admitted, the Committee simply suggested reaffirmation of the provision of the Mandate which read: "The administration of Palestine, while insuring

that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions."

Britain's interpretation of this policy had gone as far as complete prohibition of immigration. It was not likely to go that far in the future.

The one interpretation of the Mandate's requirement upon which there had been general agreement was that it meant as much immigration as Palestine's economy could safely absorb. But economic absorptive capacity depended on what was done with Palestine's economy, which in turn depended on what was done about the whole range of political problems.

No Exclusive Right

While the Committee would do nothing but reiterate the relevant section of the Mandate as a "recommendation," it mentioned a number of "considerations" to be taken into account in determining the number of Jewish immigrants to be admitted.

One of these considerations was aimed at a basic precept of Zionism, the notion that Jews might enter Palestine "as of right." On this point the Committee said:

"While we recognize that any Jew who enters Palestine in accordance with its laws is there of right, we expressly disapprove of the position taken in some Jewish quarters that Palestine has in some way been ceded or granted as their state to the Jews of the world, that every Jew everywhere is, merely because he is a Jew, a citizen of Palestine and therefore can enter Palestine as of right without regard to conditions imposed by the government upon entry, and that therefore there can be no illegal immigration of Jews into Palestine. We declare and affirm that any immigrant Jew who enters Palestine contrary to its laws is an illegal immigrant."

Another consideration on which immigration should be based was that it should be under the control of the government of Palestine which should keep in mind the well-being of all the people in Palestine. This would eliminate the possibility of the Jewish Agency becoming the controller of immigration.

The Committee also specifically rejected the view that Jewish immigration into Palestine should require Arab acquiescence, or

that there should be "forced Jewish immigration" to produce a Jewish majority. The report warned that "Jewish immigration for the development of a national home must not become a policy of discrimination against other immigrants."

No Jewish State

The most forceful language in the report was used in expressing the Committee's attitude toward the Zionists' central demand—a Jewish state. The report recommended that the exclusive claims of Jews and Arabs to Palestine be disposed of "once and for all" by the adoption of the following principles:

"1. That Jew shall not dominate Arab and Arab shall not dominate Jew in Palestine.

"2. That Palestine shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state.

"3. That the form of government ultimately to be established, shall, under international guarantees, fully protect and preserve the interests in the Holy Land of Christendom and of the Moslem and Jewish faiths.

"Thus Palestine must ultimately become a state which guards the rights and interests of Moslems, Jews and Christians alike; and accords to the inhabitants, as a whole, the fullest measure of self-government, consistent with the three paramount principles set forth above."

From the Zionist standpoint, this declaration of principles could hardly be construed as an advance over the 1939 White Paper. This document had been definite enough on a state: "His Majesty's Government therefore now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish state." But the White Paper had also provided that in the projected treaty between the United Kingdom and an independent Palestine there be provision for the protection of both the Arab and Jewish community plus, however, consideration "for the special position in Palestine of the Jewish national home."

Home Land

The Anglo-American Committee nowhere went quite that far. Its attitude toward the Jewish national home was simply one of recognition and acceptance of the fact of its existence. The Committee took no position

on whether the national home should have been established in Palestine in the first place.

"The national home is there," the Committee declared. "Its roots are deep in the soil of Palestine. It cannot be argued out of existence; neither can the achievements of the Jewish pioneers." No government in Palestine would be "doing its duty to the people of that land" unless it not only maintained the national home, but also fostered its proper development and such development, in the view of the Committee, involved immigration. The right of the Jewish national home "to continued existence, protection and development" was recognized by the Committee. But, by clear implication, this right was not special; it was a right that could be picked up and exercised by the two other communities in Palestine.

Indeed the report asserted that the Arab population of Palestine "rightly looked upon Palestine as their home land." It spoke of the "legitimate national aspirations of both Jews and Arabs."

The Christian Interest

The Committee went further. It noted with some acerbity that, with very few exceptions, "the great interest of the Christian world in Palestine has been completely overlooked, glossed over or thrust aside." Because Palestine is a Holy Land "sacred to Christian, to Jew and to Moslem alike," it is a land apart and should be dedicated "to the precepts and practices of the brotherhood of man, not those of narrow nationalism." Palestine "can never become the land which any race or religion can justly claim as its very own."

The vehemence with which the Committee attacked national claims in Palestine, a vehemence unmatched in any state document on the subject, was no doubt a reaction to the persistence with which the Zionists had put forward this claim since the Zionists adopted the Biltmore Declaration in 1942.

Freedom from Fear

The Committee found that the dilemma created by the conflicting nationalisms had been best described by "a Palestinian," whom it quoted:

"In the hearts of us Jews there has always been a fear that some day this country would

be turned into an Arab state and the Arabs would rule over us. This fear has at times reached the proportions of terror.... Now this same feeling of fear has started up in the hearts of Arabs . . . fear lest the Jews acquire the ascendancy and rule over them."

To escape from the dilemma the Committee recommended that Palestine avoid a constitution "in which a mere numerical majority is decisive, since it is precisely the struggle for a numerical majority which be-devils Arab-Jewish relations. To ensure genuine self-government for both the Arab and the Jewish communities, this struggle must be made purposeless by the constitution itself."

The Committee did not suggest the specific provisions of a constitution which could achieve this aim. The anonymous Palestinian it quoted (who was Mosche Smelansky writing in the March issue of COMMENTARY) had said in the same article that the *sina qua non* for the eradication of the mutually paralyzing fears of domination was a determination never to permit the establishment in Palestine of an independent state—Jewish, Arab, Palestinian or international. Mr. Smelansky, a pioneer figure in Palestine, whose article apparently made a deep impression on the Committee, advocated dominion status for Palestine within the British commonwealth of nations. This was a denouement for which the Committee report could have been the prelude. Unlike the 1939 White Paper, which declared the British objective to be an independent Palestine within ten years, the Anglo-American Committee said nothing about independence for Palestine. Instead it spoke of "a form of ultimate self-government," for which it laid down some essentials.

Trusteeship

The Committee found that an independent Palestinian state "for some time to come" would result in civil strife "such as might threaten the peace of the world." It therefore recommended that "until this hostility disappears, the government of Palestine be continued as at present under a Mandate pending the execution of a trusteeship agreement under the United Nations." Such a trusteeship the Committee said would "be a very heavy burden for any single govern-

ment to undertake, a burden which would be lightened if the difficulties were appreciated and the trustee had the support of other members of the United Nations."

Turning Palestine over to the United Nations was an obvious and commendable kind of proposal to which everyone could agree. But there were reasonable grounds for regarding such a move as an escape rather than a solution. The United Nations was not an omniscient and all-powerful force. It had no power to solve problems that the great powers could not solve by themselves.

Turning Palestine over to the United Nations could easily mean that the situation would end up exactly where it had been at the start. A UN trusteeship over Palestine would mean turning over Palestine to Britain plus one or more of the following: the United States, the Soviet Union, an Arab state. That the United States would accept so formal a commitment in the Middle East as a co-trusteeship over Palestine seemed highly doubtful. The assumption that Britain would permit itself to be maneuvered into a position in which it would have to accept the Soviet Union as a co-trustee over Palestine was utopian. An Arab state as a co-trustee over Palestine, at once so appropriate and so inappropriate, would no doubt be avoided. In the end, then, Palestine under a trusteeship was likely to be back in the hands of the British and the terms of the trusteeship agreement were not likely to be any more restraining on the trustee than the terms of the old Mandate had been on the mandatory. There was no reason to believe that Britain as a trustee would have an accretion of wisdom it did not have as a mandatory. Britain's success in Palestine was likely to be in direct proportion to the success of the Labor regime in overcoming imperialism and totalitarianism.

In any case, though the United Nations charter provided for the establishment of a trusteeship system, nothing had yet been done to set it up, and the possibility was slight that the United Nations would move quickly on so controversial a matter.

Arab-Jewish Cooperation

The Anglo-American Committee itself was not guilty of looking upon referral to

the United Nations as a panacea. The report emphasized the fact that the problem of Palestine was the problem of Arab-Jewish relations inside Palestine. Therefore the Committee made a series of specific recommendations to lay the basis for Arab-Jewish cooperation.

A recommendation of fundamental importance:

"The Mandatory or trustee should proclaim the principle that Arab economic, educational and political advancement in Palestine is of equal importance with that of the Jews; and should at once prepare measures designed to bridge the gap which now exists and raise the Arab standard of living to that of the Jews; and so bring the two peoples to a full appreciation of their common interests and common destiny in the land where both belong."

Another recommendation urged the promulgation of "regulations based on a policy of freedom in the sale, lease or use of land, irrespective of race, community or creed; and providing adequate protection for the interests of small owners and tenant cultivators." Along with this, the report recommended abolition of agreements whereby only members of one race, community or creed might be employed on the land.

These recommendations would mean rescinding the land transfers regulations issued in 1940 on the basis of the White Paper, and abolition of the provision in leases granted by the Jewish National Fund that no labor other than Jewish should be employed by the lessee or any sub-lessees.

Cooperation in Expansion

The Committee refused to judge the soundness of plans for large-scale agricultural and industrial development such as the Jordan Valley Authority. But it declared its belief that no plan would succeed without peace in Palestine. The Committee recommended that "the examination, discussion and execution of these plans be conducted, from the start, and throughout, in full consultation and cooperation not only with the Jewish Agency but also with the governments of the neighboring Arab states directly affected."

Such projects, the Committee said, should be conceived of as public projects even if the Jews were to bear the financial respon-

sibility. "Some compromise should not be impossible which would combine Jewish finance with government responsibility and control," the report noted.

Cooperation in Education

The Committee reported that nationalist propaganda in Arab schools was matched by the "fiery spirit of nationalism" in the Jewish schools. Both, the Committee said, were guilty of "excited emphasis on racialism and the perversion of education for propaganda purposes." It therefore recommended that:

"In the interests of the conciliation of the two peoples and of general improvement of the Arab standard of living, the educational system of both Jews and Arabs be reformed including the introduction of compulsory education within a reasonable time."

The Committee recognized that to achieve this end, the Palestinian government would have to spend much less on law enforcement and much more on education. During the 1944-45 fiscal year, the report pointed out, \$18,400,000 had been spent on "law and order" and \$2,800,000 on education.

Violence

The Committee's final recommendation was vigorous and pointed. It said:

"We recommend that, if this report is adopted, it should be made clear beyond all doubt to both Jews and Arabs that any attempt from either side, by threats of violence, by terrorism, or by the organization or use of illegal armies to prevent its execution, will be resolutely suppressed."

"Furthermore, we express the view that the Jewish Agency should at once resume active cooperation with the mandatory in the suppression of terrorism and of illegal immigration, and in the maintenance of that law and order throughout Palestine which is essential for the good of all, including the new immigrants."

The Committee was deeply concerned about violence. "Palestine is an armed camp," the report said. "Something in the nature of conscription" of Jewish youth was in force.

Haganah, which the Committee described as "an illegal development" of the former organization of Jewish settlement police,

was under central control with subsidiary territorial commands. It had three branches: 1) a static force composed of settlers and townsfolk, with an estimated strength of 40,000; 2) a field army, based on the Jewish settlement police and trained in more mobile operations, with an estimated strength of 16,000; 3) a full time force, permanently mobilized and provided with transports, with an estimated peace establishment of 2,000 and war establishment of 6,000. Haganah, the report continued, had "vast quantities" of arms obtained from the residue of the campaigns in the Middle East.

The Committee also mentioned Irgun Zvai Leumi, which operated under its own secret command mainly in sabotage and terrorism against the mandatory, and had a strength estimated at from three to five thousand. The strength of the Stern group, a terrorist body, was put at two or three hundred.

The Committee noted that the Jews had exercised great restraint until 1939, but now violence was being used by the Jews, and, the Committee felt, Jewish leaders were doing nothing to prevent it.

"It seems clear," the report said, "that the activities of all these bodies could be greatly reduced if there was any cooperation with the authorities by the Jewish Agency and its officers and by the rest of the population."

Jewish violence, the Committee reported, "has increased that totalitarian tendency to which a nationalist society is always liable." There were "disquieting indications that illegal organization and the atmosphere of conspiracy which inevitably accompanies it, are having their corroding effects on that free democracy which has always been the pride of the Palestinian Jews."

This, combined with Arab threats and intransigence, led the Committee to state it was convinced that "if British forces were withdrawn there would be immediate and prolonged bloodshed the end of which is impossible to predict."

Official Reception

Within twenty-four hours after the issuance of the report, it was fighting for its life.

President Harry Truman said that he was "very happy" that his request for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine had been endorsed. He hoped

that their transference would be accomplished "with the greatest dispatch." The President also found that the recommendations for the protection of the rights of Arabs and for constant improvement in their condition, were a significant feature in the report. He was "pleased" with the recommendations for the abrogation of restrictions on immigration and land acquisition. He found that the long-range political suggestions would require careful study and promised to take them under advisement.

Next day Prime Minister Clement Attlee told the House of Commons that the implementation of the report depended upon the disbanding of the illegal armies in Palestine and upon the U. S. attitude.

"It would not be possible," the Prime Minister said, "for the government of Palestine to admit so large a body of immigrants unless and until these formations had been disbanded and their arms surrendered. Jews and Arabs in Palestine alike must disarm."

He declared further:

"The report must be considered as a whole in all its implications. The execution of its recommendations would entail heavy immediate and long term commitments. His Majesty's Government wish to be satisfied that they will not be called upon to implement a policy that would involve them single handed in such commitments, and in the course of a joint examination they wish to ascertain to what extent the Government of the United States will be prepared to share the resultant military and financial responsibilities."

There was no immediate reaction from Moscow. In many respects the report was similar to the prevailing Communist line on Zionism. If Palestine were a problem susceptible of solution in terms of Palestine alone, the Communists should have welcomed the report. But there would be no solution in Palestine until the conflict between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American powers had been settled. Therefore the Communists had to attack any Anglo-American report. An editorial in the *Freiheit*, New York Communist Yiddish daily, found much that was good in the actual recommendations in the report, but then bitterly denounced it as "worthless" because it had been made by a committee on which the Soviet Union was not repre-

sented. The *Freiheit* also attacked the British and American governments for proceeding outside the United Nations and without giving representation to the Jews and Arabs of Palestine. But it then proposed, disregarding both the UN and the inhabitants of Palestine, that the problem be handled by the Big Three.

The Middle East

When the appointment of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was announced, American opinion welcomed it as an assumption of "responsibility" by a nation that had confined itself to offering advice. But the responsibility was still only moral. Now it could not remain so much longer. The British were calling on the Americans to take the next logical step—physical involvement of American forces in support of a joint Anglo-American policy in the Middle East. Britain needed this support badly—not simply to keep order in Palestine, but to strengthen her total position as the power struggle in this area reached a climax.

Serious men had to take sides in this power struggle. Jews had as much of a stake in its outcome as did other Englishmen, Americans, Russians or Palestinians. One could look at the specific problem of Palestine in the light of this struggle or

one could look at it as a problem in Jewish or Arab nationalism.

No one doubted President Truman's earnest desire to help the displaced Jews of Europe find a home in Palestine. But the use of soldiers to help carry out such an operation would be a basic departure from American foreign policy, to be undertaken only for broader considerations than the welfare of 100,000 Jewish refugees.

Zionism's Future

The Zionist reaction to the report was slow in taking shape. Assuming that the 100,000 refugees were admitted into Palestine, the Zionist strategy would be vitally affected. Saving refugees, building a home land, and the formation of a Jewish state had all been part of Zionist propaganda. From this point on, it seemed likely that the humanitarian and the political aspects of Zionism would have to be clearly separated. The demand for a state would have to stand on its own naked nationalistic merits.

Of course there was the possibility of continued agitation for a state based on the asserted need for the evacuation of the entire Jewish population of Europe. This would leave Zionist strategy unchanged, but with hardly the same possibilities for support from public opinion in Britain and the United States. SIDNEY HERTZBERG

CEDARS OF LEBANON

A RATIONAL EXPOSITION OF THE JEWISH FAITH

The Spirit and Role of the Talmud

SALOMON MAIMON

THE entrance of the Eastern Jew of the 18th century into lands of Western emancipation was vastly more than a change of country. It was more like entering a different world—almost a different planet.

The Eastern Jew's infinitely more difficult task of adaptation to Western culture makes his personal and psychological biography more relevant to Jewish history than that of the Jew born in the West, whose objective social and political problems are, in this context, more interesting than his internal problems.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Salomon ben Joshua Maimon's autobiography should remain his most living book. What lends this work particular value is its impartial and unprejudiced exposition of a significant Jewish state of mind; one may justly say that this book is the first of its kind and therefore deserving of particular attention at a moment when Jews have become more eager than ever to learn about themselves.

Maimon's history is a documentary offshoot of the Eastern Jewish attempt to enter the rationalist culture of the German bourgeoisie shortly before 1800. It is by no means a confession in the sense of Saint Augustine's or Rousseau's, uncovering what was secret and hidden to the world and the writer, but rather a re-revelation of a life already revealed to all: the life of an uprooted, tragicomic man, who was torn between seriousness and mockery of others and himself.

Maimon's life depicts one of the paths of Eastern Jewry's attempted escape into Europe. This could be done by way of the individualized patterns of religious life and Hasidism, or by a more or less forced achievement of social equality—Lassalle's way—or by a conquest of the cultural goods of an adored Europe—which was the way of Salomon Maimon.

Maimon escaped into Europe simply because

he could no longer stand it at home. The early childhood memories of the boy were racked by recollections of the sneers leveled at Jewish family life by Christian neighbors. In this abyss of degradation and rejection, he evolved a compensating Jewish spiritual pride that saw present sufferings ultimately compensated by the privileged position of the Jews in a future world.

MAIMON had been born in 1754 in a Lithuanian village. His father was a Talmudist, then a tradesman, later a *Pächter* or sort of tenant farmer, and finally a private teacher. At seven Salomon was sent to *heder*. Some time later, after his parents had been expelled from their home, he found a real teacher who aroused his love for the systematic logic of the Talmud. The boy was so extraordinarily talented that he could have become a rabbi at eleven—at which age he was married as a reward for his learning. He became a father at fourteen. This unbalanced his sexual development once and for all, and until the end of his life his experiences in this field were of a helpless and farcical nature. As his knowledge broadened, he learned the German alphabet; the German books made available to him by chance happened to be medical works. After studying them, he considered himself an accomplished physician and began visiting and prescribing to the sick in the neighborhood.

"As my material circumstances deteriorated because I no longer wished to apply myself to my ordinary business and thus found myself perpetually out of my proper sphere, and as moreover I was no longer able to gratify my dearest wish, the study of science, in my present domicile, I decided to go to Germany to study medicine and at the same time some of the other sciences."

So at the age of twenty-five Maimon arrived

in Koenigsberg where life was soon made unbearable for him by newly emancipated Jewish students who refused to have anything to do with a ragged, bearded immigrant who still talked the Eastern jargon. Later he was sent to Berlin, where the Orthodox Jews expelled him from their community as a freethinker. He then begged his way to Posen in the company of a professional Jewish beggar; the chief rabbi there took pity on him and got him a position as a tutor. But here too, he made his situation impossible after three years by ridiculing some superstition then current among the Jewish congregation of Posen. He went to Berlin for the second time, and was now respectfully received by Moses Mendelssohn's circle.

Still undecided as to his life's profession, he tried to give some permanence to his situation by learning the trade of a pharmacist, but as he paid more practical attention to the dissolute amusements of the capital than to his new calling, he soon found himself in deep waters again. Finally a friend persuaded him to study languages and secured him admission to the *Gymnasium* in Altona.

Next we find him in Amsterdam, where after some initial success he made himself unpopular with the Orthodox elements and was stoned in the street. It was then that he made an ill-fated attempt at suicide; he tried to drown himself and was found with half his body hanging over the water and his feet refusing to follow, a position somewhat symbolic of his wretched predicament—that of the enlightened Jew from the East who wanted to live among the unenlightened Jews of the West—or rather in the regional territory of bourgeois enlightenment.

One can understand why, at Hamburg, Maimon was even ready to have himself baptised; he had ceased to believe in anything—but for that very reason he was refused by the church. Once more he resumed his wanderings. He supported himself in Berlin and Dessau by translating into the Hebrew. He also wrote a mathematics textbook in Hebrew (for which he was not paid) and for a while attended lectures on medicine in Breslau. He then went back to tutoring, at which he made only the barest living.

While in Breslau his wife came to see him and, together with their twenty-year-old son, demanded a divorce. It was granted by virtue of the following paragraph of the *Shulhan Arukh*: "A vagrant, who leaves his wife for several years without sending her money or writing to her, shall, if he is found, be forced by the courts to grant her a divorce."

The vagrant returned to Berlin, where his

external situation seemed no better—especially as his patron Moses Mendelssohn had died. However, friends collected some money and rented a garret for him. At this point Maimon's period of highest creative activity began. A reading of Kant's recently published *Critique of Pure Reason* stimulated him to write his first important book, *Essay on the Transcendental Philosophy*, which appeared in 1790. The manuscript was submitted to Kant through the good offices of Kant's Jewish friend, Marcus Herz, and Kant sent Herz an enthusiastic letter, saying that none of his opponents had ever understood him or his problems better, and speaking of Maimon's intelligence in the highest terms.

This letter constituted a certificate of the highest value in the German intellectual world and caused Maimon's life to take a momentary turn for the better. Not only was his work on Kant and his *Philosophical Dictionary* published, but the most respectable periodicals opened their pages to his essays. Even Goethe and Schiller became interested in him. In 1792 he seized the opportunity to write and publish his *Autobiography*, which made him known to the whole of intellectual Germany overnight. The high point of this stage of his life was reached in 1794, with the publication of his second important work, *Essay on a New Logic*.

Among other items published by Maimon were a commentary on Maimonides' *Moreh Nebuchim* (Maimon had adopted his surname from Maimonides as a token of his admiration for him), a treatise urging a revision of the sciences, another on the progress of philosophy, and a book, *Critical Investigation of the Human Mind* (1797). He also wrote two works in Hebrew that were not published.

Nevertheless he was unable to maintain himself in his favorable position for any length of time. As before in Orthodox Jewish society, his uncouth ways made him unpopular in Christian bourgeois circles; these only tolerated Jewish authors of the suavity and polish of Moses Mendelssohn. Nor did Maimon fare better in a material sense. His philosophical works had only a very restricted public; his publishers paid badly, and his other sources of help soon dried up.

Maimon would perhaps have perished in misery had not Count Adolf Kalckreuth, who had been struck by his writings, come to his aid. The aristocrat turned out to be more forbearing toward the distinguished thinker and writer than the bourgeoisie had been. He put him up first at his villa near Berlin and then on his estate in Lower Silesia, where Maimon was able to spend the last five years of his

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life in uninterrupted work. He died in November 1800 and was buried by the Jews of Glogau in a heretic's grave.

THIS essay printed below was originally intended as a chapter of Maimon's *Autobiography*, but in later editions was relegated, for obvious reasons, to the status of an appendix. Its inclusion was motivated most likely by the author's feeling that he could not rely upon the Gentile public's notion of Judaism as a basis for the understanding of his life, and

that in order to dispose of the historic distortions and misrepresentations contained in that notion, it was necessary to give an account of the Jewish religion *ab ovo*, presenting it in a more enlightened and rational framework than hitherto.

The essay is presented here with its first fifteen hundred words eliminated. These constitute a sort of Kantian prolegomenon on the nature of religions in general and make a play with Kantian concepts hardly of interest to the general reader. —LEO LOWENTHAL.

AS A positive religion, the Jewish is distinguished from paganism by the fact that it is not a mere political religion—that is, not a religion whose ends are social interests in contrast to private interests and those of knowledge. In keeping with the spirit of its founder, it is suited to a theocratic form of government resting on the principle that only true religion, based on the perceptions of reason, can be compatible with civic as well as private interests. Thus the Jewish religion, in its integral state, has no mysteries, no secrets, in the proper sense of the word—that is, no secrets one does not wish to be revealed because of some ulterior aim—but only secrets that cannot be revealed to all [i.e., the mysteries of paganism are deliberately willed by men, while those of Judaism spring only from the limitations of the human mind].

With the decay of the Jewish state, religion was separated from the structure of the state. The guardians of religion no longer concerned themselves with the regulation of religion in its special application to the state, but merely strove to preserve the religion upon which the very existence of [what was left of] the state now depended. Moved by hatred towards the nations that had destroyed their state, and by fear that the decay of their state might also entail the decay of their religion, they arrived at the following measures for the preservation and extension of their religion:

1) A method, allegedly handed down by Moses, of construing the Law, applicable to specific cases. This method was not the one dictated by reason, which consists in modifying the law according to time and circumstances in order to preserve its sense and spirit, but instead was based on certain

formal rules of textual interpretation.

2) Legal enforcement of the new decisions and pronouncements arrived at by this method and accorded equal rank with the old laws. One can easily imagine by what dialectical sophistry this was achieved and continued up to our times, and what a monstrous amount of laws, customs and superfluous ritual it brought about.

THE history of Jewish religion may be pertinently divided into five principal epochs. The first epoch includes natural religion from the time of the patriarchs to Moses after the Exodus. The second comprises positive and revealed religion from Moses to the time of the Great Synagogue (*Keneset Hagdolah*). The Synagogue must not be imagined as an assembly of theologians at a given time; the name was applied to the theologians of a whole epoch; viz., from the destruction of the Temple until the constitution of the Mishnah. The first of these theologians were minor prophets (Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi, etc., and about a hundred and twenty old ones); the last of them was Simon the Pious. These, as well as their predecessors since the time of Joshua, based themselves on Mosaic Law, adding new laws according to time, circumstances and the traditional method. Disputes that arose were settled by a majority of votes.

The third epoch extends from the constitution of the Mishnah by Rabbi Judah the Holy to the constitution of the Talmud by Rabina [bar Huna, d. 499 C.E.] and Rabassi [Rab Ashi, d. 427 C.E.]. Until this time it was held unlawful to put down the Law in written form for fear it might fall into the hands of the incompetent. But Rabbi Judah Hanasi (otherwise called Rab-

benu Hakadosh) realized that the Law, because of its great diversity, might easily fall into oblivion, and he allowed himself to transgress one law, in order to preserve the whole of Law, by drawing up the Law in writing. He supported his action by a passage from the Psalms: "there are times when one pleases God by transgressing the Law." He lived in the time of Antoninus Pius; he was rich, and in possession of the abilities necessary for his enterprise. He drew up the Mishnah, in which he expounded Mosaic Law according to either traditional or rational exegesis. At times, he also introduced controversial laws.

His work falls into six main parts. The first part contains the laws pertaining to agriculture and horticulture; the second the laws concerning feast days and holidays. The third part consists of the laws governing the relationship between the sexes (marriage, divorce, etc.). The fourth part comprises the laws of jurisprudence, the fifth the laws regulating the service of the Temple, and the sixth contains the laws of purification.

As the Mishnah was written with the greatest concision and could not be understood without a commentary, it was inevitable that after some time doubts and disputes should arise over its interpretation as such, and over its application to contingencies not originally defined. All these doubts and disputes with their various solutions were finally embodied in the Talmud by the above mentioned Rabina and Rabassi, and this constitutes the fourth epoch of Jewish legislation.

The fifth epoch begins with the conclusion of the Talmud and continues into our times and into eternity (*si diis placet*) until the advent of the Messiah. Since the conclusion of the Talmud and the Mishnah, the Rabbis have not been idle. Though they are not permitted to make changes in the Talmud or the Mishnah, their task consists in interpreting these according to their several lights and at the same time reaching identical conclusions (no simple matter, as there will always be a rabbi who with over-subtle casuistry detects contradictions in the commentary of a colleague); in finding the applicable law for every separate case in the labyrinth of opinions, interpretations, controversies and decisions; and lastly in evolv-

ing from known law new and hitherto undefined laws for new contingencies, and preparing a complete code of law.

THUS does a religion natural and rational in its origins become abused. No Jew is allowed to eat or drink, to sleep with his wife or relieve nature without observing a preposterous number of laws. A library approximating in size that of Alexandria could be filled with the books on ritual-killing alone (the nature of the knife, the examination of the entrails and so forth). And what am I to say about the enormous number of volumes treating of obsolete laws, the laws of sacrifice, the laws of purification, etc? The pen falters in my hand when I think of how I and others like me spent our best years, the years of our fulness of strength, sitting up all night over the mind-killing business of introducing sense where there was no sense, of detecting non-existent paradox by wit and obliterating existent paradox by ingenuity, of clutching at a shadow at the end of a chain of logic, and of building castles in the air.

The abuses of Rabbinism have their reason in:

- 1) An artificial method of interpreting Scripture instead of a natural one. A natural method rests on a thorough knowledge of language and an appreciation of the true spirit of the law-maker in relation to the historically known circumstances of his time, whereas the artificial method is invented for the benefit of the laws appropriate to the circumstances of a period.

Rabbis regard the Scriptures not only as a source of basic Mosaic Law and of such law as can be rationally evolved from it, but also as a vehicle for the laws to be drawn up in accordance with the requirements of the times. Here the artificial method, like any other method of its kind, is merely a means of establishing an external link between old law and the new in order to facilitate its introduction to the nation. Thus the new law can be referred to an established principle, classified and made easier to remember. But although these laws are referred to certain passages in the Scriptures, no reasonable rabbi believes that they indeed constitute the true sense of these passages. If asked, he would say that the new laws suit the needs

of the times and are only referred to those Scriptural passages for the sake of the above-mentioned reasons.

2) The customs and morals of neighboring nations, or nations amongst whom the Jews were dispersed after the decay of their own state. Jews had to accept these customs in order not to become objects of abomination. The law of remaining covered (at least in sacred places and during sacred offices), for instance, is of this origin; and so is the law of the washing of hands before a meal or prayer, the law of fasting until sundown, the laws of a prescribed number of daily prayers, of pilgrimage, of circling the altar, and so forth. All these laws are apparently of Arab origin.

Conversely, a number of customs, especially religious customs opposed to those of the Greeks and Romans, were adopted by the Jews out of hatred for the nations that had destroyed their state and subjected them to various forms of oppression.

In this the Rabbis were able to emulate Mosaic Law itself, which partly corresponded to rooted Egyptian law and partly opposed it, as has been convincingly demonstrated by the famous Maimonides in his *Moreh Nebuchim*.

IT is remarkable how in spite of all Rabbinical extravagance with regard to the practical side of Jewish theology (that is, its laws and customs), the theoretical part has been preserved in all its integrity. Let Eisenmenger* say what he chooses, it can still be incontrovertibly shown that all finite metaphorical images of God and His attributes are merely motivated by an endeavor to adapt the concepts of theology to the capacities of the common mind. In this, the Rabbis follow a principle they themselves established with regard to the Scriptures—Holy Writ is to employ the language of the common man as the medium best suited to the propagation of the religious and moral deeds and convictions that are the immediate

* Johann Andreas Eisenmenger (1654-1704) was a German student of Judaism and Hebrew literature who in 1700 published a book *Entdecktes Judenthum* ("Judaism Revealed") in which Rabbinical texts were put together and distorted in such a way as to permit the author to make slanderous anti-Jewish interpretations from them. His work became a source-book for anti-Semites.—Ed.

end of theology. Therefore God is presented to the common mind as a temporal king conferring with his ministers, the angels, about the government of the world.

In the more advanced mind, however, the Rabbis seek to obliterate all anthropomorphic images of God by saying: "The Prophets showed great daring when they presented the Creator as resembling his creature, as for instance in Ezekiel 2: 26, '... and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness of the appearance of a man'"

I HAVE revealed the Rabbis' abuses of religion without partiality; now I must not be silent about their virtues, but as impartially do justice to these. Let us compare, then, Mahomet's account of the rewarding of the faithful with the Rabbinical account. Mahomet says:

Here (in Paradise) are as many cups as there are stars in the sky. Young girls and boys pour wine and wait at the table. The girls are of a beauty surpassing all powers of the imagination. If one of them were to appear in the sky or in the air of night, the world would light up as though the very sun were shining, and if she were to spit into the ocean, the salt water would change into sweetness, and its bitterness into honey. Rivers of water and white wine, milk and honey will lave this sweet sojourn.

The rivers' mud will be sweet-smelling spices, and their pebbles pearls and hyacinths. The Angel Gabriel will open the gates of Paradise to the faithful Moslems. The first thing to strike their eyes will be a banquet board made of diamonds of such monstrous length that to walk around it would take seventy thousand days. The chairs will be of silver and gold, the tablecloth of gold and silk. And when the faithful sit down, they will partake of the most exquisite dishes and drink the water of Paradise. When they are satisfied, beautiful boys will hand them green garments of precious materials, and necklaces and earrings of gold. Then each will be given a lemon, and as he raises it to his nose, there will issue from it a girl of ravishing beauty. Each will embrace with delight the girl allotted to him and his amorous rapture will last fifty years without interruption. Then each pair will be given a marvelous palace for a dwelling wherein they will spend eternity eating and drinking and enjoying every kind of voluptuous delight.

This description is beautiful, but far too

sensual. The Rabbis, on the other hand, tell us: "Above (the blessed sojourn of the faithful) there is neither eating nor drinking, etc., but the faithful sit crowned and find their delight in the contemplation of the Godhead."

In his *Judaism Revealed* (Part One, Chapter 8) Eisenmenger tries to ridicule by a crass interpretation the Platonic doctrine of reminiscence held by the Rabbis; but what cannot be made to appear ridiculous by such a method? Thus he derides the Rabbis for calling the Magi kings, and jibes at the passage in which they tell us: "God does nothing without consulting His angels, which means that omnipotence does not immediately act upon nature, but acts through the powers and through the teachings that say everything save the exercise of virtue is predestined by God." Surely, no rational theologian can find anything ridiculous or blasphemous in this. Were I to refute all unjust accusations and mockeries leveled against the Talmudists by Christian authors as well as by so-called enlightened Jews, I would have to fill another volume.

Now, anyone who has ever penetrated the spirit of the Talmud, or who is at all conversant with the practice of the Ancients, and more particularly of the Orientals, of presenting moral, theological and even physical truths in terms of fables and analogies, anyone who is thus familiar with Oriental exaggeration concerning human affairs, and who is willing moreover to treat the Rabbis as fairly as they treated Rabbi Maier, whose teacher was a heretic—surely a person like that would scarcely find as many contradictions in the Talmud as those gentlemen are so ready to detect.

THE method of referring theoretical and practical truths (if only by the strangest form of exegesis) to passages in holy or otherwise accepted Scripture as if they were, indeed, truths deduced from these passages by a rational exegesis, has the twofold advantage of making these truths accessible to the common man—who is unable to comprehend them and can only accept them as authoritative—and at the same time of making them more likely to be remembered: As these passages are supposedly in everybody's mouth, the truths derived from them will

also be preserved. Thus one often finds in the Talmud, whenever there is a question of deducing a new law from the Scriptures, that one Rabbi deduces the law from such and such a passage while another protests that this cannot be the true meaning of that passage. The reply is always: This is a new law that the Rabbis merely refer to a given passage.

As this method is supposed to be generally known, Talmudists do not deem it necessary to emphasize it at every opportunity. To illustrate this point, a single example will suffice.

One Rabbi asked another about the meaning of Joshua 15:22 (*kina vedimona veada*). The other replied that the passage contained an enumeration of places then known in the Holy Land. "Indeed," said the first, "I know that these are place-names, but Rabbi X has also invested them with practical significance, namely: If your neighbor gives you cause for revenge (*kina*), and you keep magnanimously silent (*dama*) and refrain from taking revenge, justice (*da*) will be given to you by the Eternal (*ade-ad*)."^{*}

This would give one a fine opportunity to laugh at the poor Talmudist who deduced a moral maxim from a string of place-names, were it not for the fact that the inquirer himself did not wish to learn the true meaning of the passage in Joshua but merely to assert some dogma that could be referred to it.

Thus the important doctrine that in morals practice is more important than mere theory and that only practice confirms the value of theory, is referred by Talmudists to the passage in Isaiah: "And wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, and strength of salvation; the fear of the Lord is his treasure."

They refer these (wisdom, knowledge, strength, etc.) to the first six *Sedarim* or chapters of the Mishnah (which is the basis of all Jewish scholarship). Thus, *emunat* is *Seder Zeraim*; *etecho* is *Seder Moed*, etc. But however well one may be versed in the first six *Sedarim*, they will be of no avail without the last one—the fear of the Lord.

* *kina* (spelt slightly differently) means "zeal, fury"; *dama* means "silence"; *da* can be read as "judges"; *ade-ad* means "the eternal."

Incidentally, as far as Rabbinical morals are concerned, I really do not know what fault can be found with them except perhaps that they sometimes go to extremes. Rabbis exercise true stoicism, without, however, excluding other principles, such as the principles of perfection, of general benevolence and so forth. Their saintliness embraces their very thought. They refer this, as is their wont, to the passage in the Psalms—"thou shalt not have a strange God in thee"—by asking what strange god can there be in the human heart other than an impulse towards evil? They do not permit themselves to deceive a pagan, even in harmless deeds or words, or to use an ordinary mode of polite address like, "I am happy to see you," unless it expresses the true disposition of their hearts.

Instances of Jews having defrauded Christians or pagans prove nothing, as these Jews did not act according to their moral principles.

The Commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods, etc.," is interpreted by Talmudists as forbidding the very desire for the neighbor's goods. In brief, were I to mention all the excellent teachings of Rabbinical morality, I should have to fill a volume.

THE influence of these teachings on practical life are also unmistakable. Polish Jews, who were always permitted to avail themselves of various means of making a livelihood, and not limited like the Jews of other countries to money-changing and the practice of usury, are seldom reproached with dishonesty. They remain loyal to the country of their residence and earn their living by fair means.

Their charity and liberality towards the poor, their institutions for the care of the sick, and their special societies for the burial of the dead are sufficiently known. No hired nurses or grave diggers, but the elders of the nation vie with each other to perform these offices.

To be sure, the majority of Polish Jews are still unenlightened; their habits and manner of life are uncouth, but they are true to the religion of their fathers and the law of their country, and though they may not excel in courtesy, their word is sacred. They are no gallants, but it is because of this that your ladies are safe from their pursuit. After the manner of Orientals, they do not hold their females in particular esteem, but are all the more heedful in their fulfilment of their duties toward them. Their children have been taught no phrases to protest their love and reverence for their parents (they have no French governesses), but on that account express them all the more sincerely.

The sacredness of their marriage bond and the resulting tenderness deserve to be specially noticed. Every month the husband is completely separated from his wife for fourteen days of monthly purification according to Rabbinical Law. They are not even allowed to touch each other or to eat out of the same bowl or drink out of the same cup, and thus satiety is avoided. The woman remains in the eyes of her husband what the girl was once in the eyes of her lover.

And what innocence prevails between unmarried persons! Indeed, it often happens that a boy and girl of sixteen and eighteen are married without the slightest knowledge of the ends of marriage, a state of affairs that would certainly be rare in other nations.

THE STUDY OF MAN

THE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS DISSECT PREJUDICE

An Appraisal of Recent Studies

NATHAN GLAZER

THE intellectual current that now impels writers—in the big national magazines as well as the more serious little magazines—to talk about race prejudice has not left social scientists unmoved. In almost any current issue of the professional journals in sociology and social psychology we see them pausing from other researches to offer observations on race prejudice—what causes it, how it operates, how it can be fought. And empirical studies of one aspect or another of prejudice, once so rare, have now become more common. Since they are at least nominally under the discipline of a scientific mode of thought, social scientists say less stupid things about race prejudice than most popular writers, but often they show less understanding than some of the serious literary men. (As examples, see "The Imaginary Jew" by John Berryman in the Autumn 1945 *Kenyon Review*; "A Bitter Farce" by Delmore Schwartz in the Spring 1946 *Kenyon Review*; "Portrait of the Anti-Semite" by Jean-Paul Sartre in the Spring 1946 *Partisan Review*.) In part, the aim of social scientists should be to put solid ground under the insights of artists and make them the property of all. As to how well they achieve this, one may be able to judge after reading this appraisal.

As social scientists always point out, their field is still young and growing. This might

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account for the fact that certain time-honored understandings and techniques still persist, though they are clearly outmoded. Thus we find treatments of prejudice using "stone-age" tools little removed from "common sense" side by side—often between the covers of the same single issue of a journal—with the most subtle and sophisticated tools of understanding yet devised.

The "intellectual current" is not the only force moving scientists to concern themselves with prejudice. The large Jewish domestic defense and community relations groups—principally the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress—are now sponsoring scientific research on prejudice, with the ultimate practical end of finding the most effective ways of fighting it. Some of the articles now appearing on prejudice are by members of the scientific staffs of these organizations and report the early results of their work.

Looking at the material of the past few months (which provides a fair sampling), we find speculation, complex theorizing, empirical studies and proposals for action. Some of it is plainly worthless, some highly valuable; but even the worthless is at least worth looking at: it brings the realization that the garb of science—even when prejudice is being dealt with—can itself cover prejudice, and serve to dress up platitudes. In examining these articles we shall proceed from the least adequate to the most useful. This will at least have the practical merit of allowing the later articles to correct or point out the deficiencies of the earlier.

GUSTAV Ichheiser's "The Jews and Anti-Semitism" in the February *Sociometry* starts off with the assertion that anti-Semitism is really very simple and that "we" (he in-

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cludes his fellow social psychologists) are just too blinded by misconceptions to see it in its simple reality. The chief misconceptions are: that prejudice is an "abnormal" state of mind in people who, on being enlightened, can become "normal" and unprejudiced (according to the author, it is a "normal" state of mind); that anti-Semitism is "abnormal" (he thinks it is rather a "normal" reaction to an "abnormal" situation); and that anti-Semitism can be explained by some "scapegoat" hypothesis. The scapegoat hypothesis he believes inadequate because it does not explain why it is the Jews who become the scapegoat; it leaves untouched the basic "socio-psychological irritation."

Professor Ichheiser gives his own interpretation of anti-Semitism in terms of this basic irritation. It seems that groups can be characterized by a "conscious nationalism" or an "unconscious nationalism." In the first, members of the group "profess in an open way certain particular national goals." In the second, members of a group, "even though not expressing in an articulate way any particular ideas or beliefs, nevertheless are fundamentally so involved in sets of nationally (culturally) prejudiced conceptions that, without being aware of it, they see and judge everything from their own national (cultural) point of view." Further: "the conscious nationalist fights for America, or France, or Germany. The unconscious nationalist fights always for 'humanity' or 'justice' or 'freedom.'" Later he adds "'pacifism'" and "'internationalism.'"

This distinction is utterly groundless. The term "unconscious" seems to refer to psychoanalytic mechanisms. But the attitudes Professor Ichheiser labels "conscious nationalism" are as closely involved with *unconscious motives*—possibly more so—than those he labels "unconscious nationalism." According to him, all groups are characterized by "unconscious" nationalism. But every example he gives is taken from the Jewish variety. The examples have no shred of empirical evidence; they are simply adaptations of features of the Jewish stereotype. Thus, we are told that the Jew, to advance his own interests as a man without a country, supports internationalism, justice, pacifism—he has nothing to lose from them. Is it any wonder the "consciously nationalist" Gentile finds this creature obnoxious? This is the basic "socio-psychological irritation."

Professor Ichheiser warns that unless Jews understand this mechanism they are doomed. As to how they could save themselves even if they understood it there is no hint. For Professor Ichheiser himself points out that even the attitudes of the two varieties of Jews that are not "unconscious nationalists"—the

Zionists and the conscious nationalists of the countries in which they live—can be given an anti-Semitic interpretation: the first is disloyal to his adopted country and the loyalty of the second—he is after all a Jew—is suspect.

For all its terminology, this is not social science.

IN THE February *Sociometry*, Eugene L. Hartley and Alexander Mintz introduce "A Technique for the Measurement of the Racial Saturation Point." The racial saturation point is defined as that social situation in which a majority group would feel unpleasant if any more of a minority group entered. We can understand frictions and disturbances between groups as an indication that this point has been reached.

The test to find this point proposed and tried out by the authors reproduces, in a somewhat different form, the results obtained by the old and widely-used Bogardus test of "social distance"—a test in which the subject indicates the degree of intimacy (marriage, friendship, living on same block, citizenship, etc.) to which he would admit members of various groups. This test has been given many times, generally to college students, with similar results: groups from Northwest Europe are admitted to the highest level of intimacy, and groups from Southern and Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa follow in that order.

In the present test, the subjects (students) were asked to imagine themselves in a required mathematics class containing 100 students. How many would there have to be of each national group before they felt uncomfortable? The results are very close to those of the Bogardus test. The students will tolerate a large number of West Europeans but few Negroes or Turks.

The concept of a "racial saturation point" itself appears questionable—or at least of limited applicability. Group frictions would seem due to a change in a total social situation, in which the increase in numbers of the minority may indeed be a single factor—or may not be present at all.

The authors admit that their test is of no value for measuring a real "racial saturation point," assuming it to exist. The situation presented to the subjects—stating a percentage of persons of some nationality that would make one "uncomfortable"—requires too much intellectualization and is too unnatural to permit drawing any such conclusions. The authors state that their test is more flexible than the Bogardus, but this seems dubious.

This article is representative of an early stage in the study of prejudice. Happily, we

have advanced beyond efforts to measure prejudice in the classroom, to efforts to discover something of its actual, living nature and the way it operates in real life situations.

CHESTER Alexander, in his article "Antipathy as Social Behavior" in the January *American Journal of Sociology*, addresses himself to that realm of negative actions that lies in the midground between an instinctive withdrawal and a rationally-supported attitude. For this realm, he appropriates the word "antipathy." In a study of 1,200 cases, followed up by 200 interviews, 1,256 antipathies of an impressive range of variety were uncovered. Antipathies, according to Mr. Alexander, refer to the senses—involve something objectionable to sight, hearing, smell, taste or touch. A person holding antipathies does not seek to defend them or appeal to socially accepted values: "I just can't stand the smell of raw fish, or the sound of rasping metal, that's all." Antipathies are given no moral evaluation and appear to the persons holding them to be of no social consequence. The average person holds twenty-one antipathies, according to the study, and 38 per cent of all the antipathies relate to human physical traits or clothing or mannerisms. Consequently, Mr. Alexander asserts they can seriously affect human interrelationships.

This brings us to the social implications of antipathies. Mr. Alexander believes that antipathies exist without prejudice, but that prejudice cannot exist without antipathies: prejudices are compounds of, and rationalizations for, antipathies. "Prejudices cannot be permanently removed as long as the roots [antipathies] remain from which new rationalizations spring." Removing prejudices is in fact a process of removing antipathies: "A group which finds it bears cultural traits which are disagreeable to others may succeed in time in getting rid of them. Certain food, peculiar oddities of clothing or adornment, odd forms of speech. . . ."

Mr. Alexander's analysis of the social implications of antipathies seems to me entirely questionable. Prejudice can hardly be founded on a structure of sensory reactions: persons who have never had any personal contact with Jews or Negroes have just as strong or stronger prejudices than those who have had such contact. (Professor Ichheiser also shares this common misconception.) Why may not antipathies come about as the result of a previously acquired prejudice, as a support and rationalization for it? This possibility is not considered at all.

Mr. Alexander unfortunately makes no use of the concepts of dynamic psychology. He

treats antipathies as hard little nuggets of feeling, unrelated to other parts of the psychological mechanism, which can be combined like building blocks to form prejudices. A complete study of antipathies should approach them in their relations with other elements of individual psychology. One suspects that if this were done, the antipathies treated by Mr. Alexander as perfectly equivalent elements would break up into different kinds of phenomena. Some would be heavily invested with unconscious feelings, others would be mere surface modes of behavior, adopted for reasons of fashion; some would last over long spans of experience, others a season—or the time it takes to make a test of antipathies.

The field of investigation is a valid one; the methods used seem too parochial.

IF SOCIOLOGISTS are guilty of parochialism in dealing with only one dimension of psychological phenomena, dynamic psychologists can be equally guilty. Helen V. McLean, a psychoanalyst writing in the March *Annals* ("Psycho-dynamic Factors in Racial Relations") disconcertingly interprets large social movements in terms of personal and family situations. For example: "It is not enough to explain such an attitude [white superiority] by saying it is an historical cultural inheritance. . . . Why at the moment when the white man was most powerful did he enslave black men and need to boast of white superiority? If he really felt strong, he should have been able to help weaker and less developed peoples rise to positions of equality with him. A mature father or mother does not fear competition from a son or daughter." And Dr. McLean proceeds to the theory that black slavery was necessary to fill certain psychological needs in whites.

Dr. McLean uses the words "white" and "Negro" as if they stood for individual patients, a highly unsafe procedure (though one can learn a great deal about white and Negro behavior from individual white and Negro patients). Her conclusions reveal the same error: "When a patient begins to understand the two opposing forces in a personal conflict, he invariably will ask his therapist 'What can I do about it?' (here anthropomorphism is carried to the point where a whole society is personalized, and Negro-white relationships are dealt with in terms of conflict within the individual). Dr. McLean's solution requires Negroes to give up their longing for an omnipotent perfect father (do all, some or any Negroes have this longing? do they long for such a father because they are Negroes? how does a group give up an individual drive?).

And it asks whites to give up claims to omnipotence and power that they do not possess (here the same questions can be repeated).

At times, Dr. McLean's psychological competence leads her to interesting and valid points. For example, it appears that there is a high rate of hypertension (high blood pressure) among Southern Negroes. This is interpreted, according to the viewpoint of psychosomatic medicine—which studies the relation between the psychical and physical in man—as a sign of the unconscious effort among Negroes to suppress the hostility and rage aroused in them by the treatment they are given by whites. The continuous psychological effort required eventually produces a real organic change.

In general, Dr. McLean's use of psychoanalytic mechanisms is primitive—they become simple analogies to large social developments. Later on we shall discuss a study which uses the same mechanisms in a more sophisticated and more fruitful way.

WE HAVE said that prejudice cannot be thought of as a reaction to actual contact with a group. It would seem to be common sense that if people are prejudiced against Jews, and can give reasons why, then there must indeed be something about Jews that causes this prejudice. It was just such "common sense" that vitiated the articles by Alexander and Ichheiser. The evidence for the alternative hypothesis—that prejudice results from education by one's own group rather than from personal contact—is enormous. An excellently formulated and executed study by Bernice L. Neugarten in the January *American Journal of Sociology*, "Social Class and Friendship Among School Children," shows how this alternative hypothesis can be supported.

The author asks: "Is the social-class position of the family a contributing factor in determining a child's choice of friends or the child's reputation among age-mates?" We can restate the question: Does a child's reputation or value as a friend depend on his own personal characteristics or on his group affiliations? Unfortunately, the Midwest community where this study was conducted is ethnically homogeneous so there was no opportunity to observe the influence of affiliation with an ethnic group. However, the factors are probably similar.

The point in this study of particular interest to us is the way fifth- and sixth-grade (eleven-year-old) children rate their classmates. Each child was asked to give the names of the children he considered "clean," "dirty," "good-

looking," "not good-looking," "always having a good time," "not having a good time," etc. We discover it is the upper-class children who are rated as clean, good-looking, always having a good time, while the lower-class children are rated dirty, not good-looking, not having a good time. Some of these qualities indeed permit an objective evaluation (e.g., whether a child is clean or dirty). But some definitely do not (e.g., is he having a good time?) The fact that for every quality—objective or not—the upper-class children are given the "good" rating, shows us that the children do not observe specific personal qualities but group affiliations. Trained from early childhood in the proper deferential and ingratiating, or superior and patronizing, attitude to children of different classes, they observe their schoolmates as members of that class—not as human beings. Observation is indeed a function of social position, and the "stereotype" is more than a propaganda trick. This article has much else that is of great interest, but not relevant to our immediate concern with prejudice.

One of the tools used in this study, of great importance in the study of prejudice, is the sociometric test of Dr. J. L. Moreno, a simple device for discovering social relationships in a classroom or any other social grouping. Each child is asked to write down the name of the child he would like to sit next to, or would like to have as a friend (the request varies according to the age of the children and what the investigator is trying to find out). The investigator can then draw up a chart showing lines of attraction and repulsion within the classroom, and can, by retesting, study, for example, what happens over a period of time to relations between racial groups. We know from earlier studies (for example, J. H. Criswell, *A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Classroom*, Archives of Psychology, No. 235) that by the time a child reaches the fourth or fifth grade (ten years old) the preference for members of his own group is very marked: the little Aryan, who in the first or second grade selected a Negro boy as the one he would like to sit next to, limits his choice to his own group. The sociometric test is cheap and easy to use and has done much to expand our knowledge of the growth of prejudice in children. (The journal *Sociometry*, previously referred to, contains the results of many sociometric studies.)

ADDITIONAL evidence for the view that prejudice does not arise out of personal contacts is summarized in an article by Ronald Lippitt and Marian Radke, "New Trends in the Investigation of Prejudice," in the March

Annals (this issue of the *Annals* is entirely devoted to the subject "Controlling Group Préjudice"). The authors are both connected with the Commission on Community Interrelations, scientific research arm of the American Jewish Congress. The article gives a fairly complete picture of recent work in the field, emphasizing efforts to control prejudice. They point out that "instruction and demonstration" apparently do nothing to change prejudice. On the other hand, techniques based on group activity have been used effectively to reduce prejudice. Unfortunately, the successful experiments were aimed at changing food prejudices—dislike of certain meats or breads. Will the same method work in changing a highly dynamic race attitude, supported by skilful and subtle rationalizations?

A large part of this article describes a technique that the authors consider highly effective for changing attitudes in any field: the "action-research" method. A great deal of theoretical and experimental work by Professor Kurt Lewin and his associates has gone into the formulation of this method, and one can only give a hint as to how it works. Briefly, it utilizes experimental evidence showing that people accept new attitudes and values more easily in a context of working together with other people in a democratically-run group. Action-research requires, first of all, a group in which "a group-need to discover some facts exists or is created." Then, with the help of a skilled social-research technician, the group formulates the problems it would like to know more about, plans and carries out a study, and then draws up a report which can be presented to new groups, which may then wish to start their own action-research project. In the course of the research, attitudes originally held may be changed.

From the examples given—one is of a group of Scoutmasters trying to find out why boys leave the Boy Scout movement—the use of this method to fight race prejudice would seem to involve great difficulties. For one thing, anti-Semites are not organized in groups easily accessible to social scientists. And even if groups that could profit from such a procedure were accessible, what motivations are there available that could induce them to undertake a rather involved and complex task? The motivations of the Scoutmasters are clear. Nevertheless, the research in group dynamics, now centered at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, of which "action-research" is one result is of great importance and bears watching.

Two other articles by competent social scientists deal with the problem of changing race

prejudice through education. They are: "The Control of Ethnic Conflict" by Simon Marcson in the December 1945 *Social Forces*, and "Some Considerations in Combatting Intergroup Prejudice" by Isidor Chein in the March *Journal of Educational Sociology*. Both authors realize the enormous difficulty of reducing prejudice through education, and both emphasize the importance of social changes which would reduce people's frustrations. These frustrations now find their chief outlet in hatred of other groups. Professor Chein, in addition, breaks down prejudice into various "dimensions" (the term is an excellent one, it seems to me, replacing the somewhat ambiguous "factors"); each dimension requires special educational tools—or else is impervious to any of them. The dimensions include such elements as expressing prejudice to conform to a social group, adopting it to increase one's social status or feeling of importance, believing in the reality of stereotypes, and an emotional dimension (handling frustrations through prejudice). This breakdown is based on empirical study of the ways prejudice manifests itself in people. It seems a useful clarification of what education can and cannot do.

OUR of the work of social scientists in the past few years a view of race prejudice has arisen which in varying degrees was explicit in the last three articles we discussed: Prejudice is conceived of as learned by children from a social environment, in which the principal element is the family, and as integrated with personality and social structure—that is, as having a function and playing a role both for the individual's personality and the entire society in which he has to function. Like the platform of achievement one sees in curves of the rate of learning, this level of understanding, which was reached a few years ago, has been achieved time and again by competent social scientists, but it has not been exceeded.

The study—part of the research program sponsored by the American Jewish Committee—"Some Personality Factors in Anti-Semitism," by Else Frenkel-Brunswik and R. Nevitt Sanford in the October *Journal of Psychology* seems to me to mark the beginning of a new advance. Instead of the merely vague notion that prejudice is somehow integrated with personality, we here begin to get an idea of how prejudice fits into the given personality.

The authors clearly limit the scope of their investigation: they concern themselves with the "personality of some of those to whom anti-Semitic ideology appeals, rather than with the social and economic factors which may be responsible for anti-Semitism as a social move-

ment or a social institution." They ask: "Who are the people who adopt and become active carriers of anti-Semitism? Why do they so readily become . . . 'scapegoat addicts'? What function, if any, has anti-Semitism in their personality structure?"

The first step in this ambitious program was described in an earlier article. A scale (test) for the measurement of anti-Semitism was devised and applied to female college students. The scale consists of a number of statements expressing the anti-Semitic stereotype of the Jew; for example, "Jews are clanish and tend to stick together more than other people." To each item the subject can respond with varying degrees of agreement or disagreement. Together with this anti-Semitic scale, a similar test of attitudes on political and social questions was presented to the students and a series of "fill-in" questions, such as "What great people, living or dead, do you admire most?" and "If you had six months to live, but could do just as you pleased during that period, how would you spend the time?" These questions are called "projective" since the subject is given an opportunity unconsciously to project his personality so that the scientist can study it.

In analyzing the results, it was discovered that there was a high correlation between scores made on the anti-Semitism scale and scores made on the test of social and political attitudes—the more anti-Semitic the subject's score was, the more his political score tended to be anti-labor, anti-New Deal, Republican, etc. These correlations are not accidental, since they have been observed in other studies. The anti-Semites also tended to come from richer families, to be members of sororities, and in general to wear the trappings of the upper-middle class. The projective questions also suggested interesting personality differences between high and low scorers.

The test seemed to be a satisfactory way of measuring anti-Semitism. The inquiry proceeded further by selecting from the group that had been given these tests eight girls who scored high on anti-Semitism, eight who scored low and four who scored in-between. These subjects were interviewed, and given the Murray "Thematic Apperception Test" and the Rorschach test, which are both called "projective" tests (parallel to "projective" questions). The Murray test starts with a number of pictures showing people in various attitudes of social relationship. The subject is asked to tell a story about these people, and from the story he tells it is possible to discover a great deal about his characteristic way of looking at other people and himself. It should be made

clear: there is no "correct" story to be discovered in the pictures—that is, there is no "objective" way of responding to them. Whatever one sees in these pictures simply reveals one's character. In the Rorschach test the subject is shown a series of cards marked with inkblots and tells what they suggest to him.

What differences were discovered between the anti-Semitic and non-anti-Semitic girls? At the interviews the anti-Semitic girls appeared carefully- or well-groomed and socially at ease. They were not willing to talk much about themselves and appeared to be most interested in social status and a good marriage. When asked, they all said they "liked their parents." The non-anti-Semitic girls appeared somewhat nondescript and less at ease in the interview situation, yet more willing to talk about themselves. Many expressed criticism of their parents.

THE meaning of these differences emerges in the analysis of the projective material. The high-scorers on the test for anti-Semitism emphasize destructive and aggressive themes; they delight in telling stories in which people are murdered or mutilated. (In answer to the question asking what was the cruellest punishment they could think of, high-scorers gave more ingenious and varied forms of punishment than low scorers.) They emphasize an externalized or physical causation, rather than a human causation. That is, the participants in the stories they tell do not often do the killing and mutilation themselves—they have it occur rather in warfare or in some accident. (High-scorers in anti-Semitism also believe in astrology and are superstitious.) They conform strictly to a standard or conventional morality and use many moralistic terms in the stories they tell. This, to the analysts, indicates great "social anxiety"—the desire to appear respectable in the eyes of others.

The high-scorers often appeal to religious and nationalist symbols. (Their "most awe-inspiring moment" is generally the witnessing of a religious or patriotic ceremony; the comparable experience of the low-scorers refers to some achievement, to beauty, to sensuality. The high-scorers "admire most" statesmen and people with power; the low-scorers, humanitarians, artists and scientists.) The stories of the high-scorers show infantile forms of aggression and sexuality, which are projected onto figures standing for lower-class persons and members of minority groups. Their attitude to these figures is a mixture of contempt and envy. Toward parental figures they show ambivalent attitudes: the uniform liking for their parents that they express in the interviews

is seen to cover a great deal of hatred, for the older figures in the pictures are described as plotting evil and misleading youth. Human relationships are interpreted by the high-scorers in terms of dominance and submission, so that while the low-scorers interpret a picture showing one person hypnotizing another as a classroom demonstration, the high-scorers see the hypnotist as a malevolent character dominating the subject for his own ends.

The anti-Semitic subjects, to sum up, show a conflict between the overt and covert layers of their personalities: on the surface full of kindness, self-sacrifice and charity (they think of themselves in some pictures as nurses), they are seen on a deeper level to be full of aggression and hostility.

While the emergence of this anti-Semitic personality is fascinating, the reader is warned by the authors that it is not *the* anti-Semitic personality. Certainly the aggressiveness of the Nazi leaders—or of our own lunatic fringe—was not masked by kindness and charity. And we certainly see in them no rigid adherence to social conventions or conventional morality. But there are nevertheless strong similarities between the two anti-Semitic types. The authors also make it clear that their findings relate only to women; men seem to show a somewhat different structure. These findings, I myself would add, relate only to the

upper-middle class; other classes may show variations.

Though "Some Personality Factors in Anti-Semitism" deals with personality types rather than social structure, the writers suggest, if only briefly, the social background behind the anti-Semitic girls. Their rigid adherence to middle-class values indicates insecurity, but not an economic insecurity—they come from well-to-do families; rather, it is the insecurity that comes from the need to maintain and increase social status. "The fear of losing status, in our anti-Semitic girls, seems to be connected . . . with the possibility that with respectability gone they will be tempted to release their inhibited tendencies in the way they believe Jews and proletarians do." This fear derives, ultimately, from the insecurity of the parents, which is expressed in overly anxious and overly strict rearing of their children. They are literally "trained," perhaps over-trained, for the struggle for status. One can see how the frequency of this personality would increase in times of social stress.

Doctors Frenkel-Brunswick and Sanford's analysis may be wrong in detail, and other elements may be involved. But the personality type they charted is surely connected—in very subtle ways, no doubt—with some of the pervasive conditions of middle-class existence in America.

LETTERS FROM READERS

No Exodus Down Here

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Of all the articles I have read dealing with the plight of the Jews in postwar Europe, that by Shlomo Katz is at once the most candid, the most pessimistic, and the most challenging to Jews and non-Jews alike. The following notes do not pretend to meet that challenge; they are intended merely to add to the sheaf of comments the article would seem certain to arouse.

One readily agrees that, judging from current reports, all or almost all the Jews in certain parts of Europe wish to emigrate and probably must emigrate to survive. It is in point to observe, however, that the breakdown of civilization that has occurred during and as a result of the war does not affect Jews alone. For the non-Communist Poles too, Exodus is a not unreasonable slogan. Indeed, so hopeless is the present economic and political shambles of Europe that even the French, for the first time in history, want to emigrate.

But Mr. Katz's pessimism is not limited to the Europe of today or tomorrow. It extends into the indefinite future and includes all countries not excepting the United States, where anti-Semitism is at least far short of the pogrom phase. We shall reach that phase, he thinks, because it lies in the inevitable evolving pattern of Jewish history.

I have read Mr. Katz's article with care and a good deal of respect. Yet I am sure that I do not wholly understand him and I am equally sure that he does not wholly understand Gentiles; either the anti-Semitic Gentiles who he believes will be always with us, or those like myself who, hating anti-Semitism and understanding it only in part, will also be always with us. We with them and they with us and the Jews between us; Jews and Gentiles of all kinds, together in the same world, not wholly understanding each other, but on the whole liking and disliking each other in ways not very different from the ways in which Jews like and dislike Jews and Gentiles like and dislike Gentiles.

Even after the last Exodus we shall still be together. How can Mr. Katz imagine other-

wise? Is there any magic by which Palestine, in a world of air transport and radio communication, could erect a pale about itself even if it should want to, which I doubt?

Ireland is "free," but the Irish are still with us. They would still be with us if they should all troop back to Ireland—thereby making Ireland intolerable for the Irish, and perhaps equally intolerable for the rest of the world. They won't, of course, any more than the Jews would all go to Palestine if they were given a chance.

One reason they will not go back and in my opinion should not go back is that they are as deeply involved in the failure, the bewilderment, and the residual inextinguishable hope of Western civilization as are we Gentiles—and as much responsible. Jews and Gentiles together share the guilt of creating the atomic bomb and together they are trying desperately to work out means of controlling it. Jews and Gentiles are together on both sides of the gulf that separates the political amorality of the totalitarians here and abroad from the antique ethical sensitiveness that distinguishes what is left of political liberalism. Even in the matter of racial and religious discrimination, where the guilt is unequivocally that of the Gentile white majority, the Jews are themselves not wholly without sin.

In a wry sense of the word, the Jews have become thoroughly "assimilated" to our contemporary moral and cultural chaos and it is not for the Jew to cast the first stone or to lead in the desertion of Western civilization on the ground that it is a "world they never made." They too, if only in minor part, helped make it what it is today.

Indeed I doubt that either gesture would be in keeping with the high tradition of the Jewish people or with the character of Jews as I have known them. In this country, at least, a Jewish Exodus might well be regarded as a disconcerting defection by the Gentiles who have fought side by side with Jews for common social and political ideals; who have trusted them and found them worthy of trust; who have never supposed that there was anything provisional, interested, or specifically racial or religious about the participation of

their Jewish comrades; who, finally, will never be persuaded that the best way to save Western civilization is to give it up as a bad job and go to Palestine.

To a writer and a lover of writing like myself, who has given at least a bit of his life to the struggle for human rights and human betterment and has always found Jews about him fighting shoulder to shoulder every inch of the way, this seems a shocking "failure of nerve," doubly terrifying because it comes from so unexpected a quarter.

Surely both Jews and Gentiles should be able to learn something by studying specific cases of Jewish-Gentile association out of which discrimination and anti-Semitism have developed and other cases where these pathologies did not develop. Then, having learned something about when and where and why anti-Semitism does and does not occur, it should be possible for both Gentiles and Jews to apply these findings, even if the application should entail, as it presumably would, changes in the individual and collective attitudes and policies of Gentiles and to some extent of Jews as well.

This rational pedestrian approach has been used with promising success to reduce other social tensions, including racial and religious tensions. Why can it not be applied successfully to the prevention and cure of anti-Semitism? The question is not rhetorical. I want to know.

I would like to make one concluding observation. It is that the Jews and the Jewish community here in America, like their brethren overseas, are inevitably suffering from shock, the worst shock that any people has ever suffered in the whole of recorded history. There seems not much that men of good will who happen to be "Gentiles" can do about it except to try to understand it, to hope that time will dissipate it, meanwhile to work more earnestly and more loyally than ever with Jews and with all other "minorities" to bring about the healing of the civilization from which there can be no real Exodus for any of us.

JAMES RORTY

Knoxville, Tenn.

Deploring Miss Buck

To THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I have always felt that it takes a certain amount of nerve for a lady from uptown to preach manners to a woman of the tenements, and for a rich man to preach thrift to a poor one. It is therefore with embarrassment that I find a fellow-Gentile, your contributor Pearl Buck, preaching the presumably Christian virtues of selflessness and charity to the Jews, of

all people, and in this day and age. If it is true that charity begins at home, it is even more true of moralizing.

Miss Buck bases her thesis that "group definitions must be broken down before any individual can be safe" upon two assumptions which I believe are false.

The first is that a social group is only a defensive organization. That is not true. A group becomes defensive, of course, under the stress of attack, but culture has hitherto been the flower of groups, not of humanity as a whole. Labor unions are created as defensive groups of exploited against the exploiters. But if any moral blame for their existence need be allocated, it should be to the exploiters.

Miss Buck points out that all peoples are today economically inter-dependent. This is a self-evident truth. She should inform Truman, Stalin, and Attlee of it, not the Jews, or myself for that matter. And it is quite absurd that with this axiom she should attempt to shame the Jews for being primarily concerned with the feeding of their own children while the children of India are starving too. After all the famine in India is the moral responsibility of her rulers, not of the oppressed and persecuted of Europe.

This is not a case of "I am not my brother's keeper." Cain was Abel's murderer.

The second of Miss Buck's assumptions is that groups are the cause of war. Groups may be the excuse for war, but rarely its cause. The school of thought that believes that the inequitable distribution of goods, coupled with the greed and hypocrisy of our leaders, is the cause of war, seems to me to be closer to the truth. Certainly the Jews, this most persistent of groups, have never been the cause of an international war, at least since the Dispersion, and this in spite of their assumption that they are a chosen people, an assumption so irritating to the less fortunate children of the Lord. Nor can it be said that they "avoid the truth that no group is safer than the individual it contains" since they know from long experience that they could find safety only in their disbandment.

For that is really what Miss Buck is asking of most of us: that we give up our identity, give up our cultures, our beliefs and our traditional loves in exchange for a problematical safety.

May we not instead hope and work for a more equitable economy, in which the individual enjoys the natural right to be first concerned with his own children, can belong without fear to the group he is born into, or wishes to join, can believe himself one of the chosen if he so desires, or believe in nothing at all?

COMMENTARY

We need, in fact, more than the freedom of belief; we need the freedom to be what we want to be. I trust free bread and housing will never make up for that.

Marie Antoinette said of the starving: "Let them eat cake." Miss Buck, a liberal who certainly writes in good faith and is no cynic, is in effect saying: "Let them be good." And according to her standards, too.

Perhaps the difficulty is that Miss Buck's "human being" is an abstract entity, as abstract in her article as manpower is to the general in the field, or to the fascist leader. That she is not a fascist makes it all the more important that this be pointed out.

And last, I believe Miss Buck should be chided for her closing paragraphs. While she asks the Jews to give up their group identity, she burdens them as a group with the colossal responsibility of leading us all into a better world. Really, haven't they had enough? Here again the implication is a nasty one of which Miss Buck must be unconscious: If we do not reach this better world is it not then the fault of the Jews?

She does not, I notice, ask the Christians as a whole, let alone our Christian rulers who directed World War I and II and finally dropped the atom bomb, to alter any of their beliefs, or impose upon them any unusual tasks.

It is easy to ask the member of a minority whose family has been massacred and who has been deprived of his living, to forgive and forget, especially when his persecutors neither ask forgiveness nor wish to forget. But at least we should not make him responsible for the bitterness his persecutors have created.

It is, indeed, easy to talk.

DAVIS HERRON

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Thank you very much for letting me read Mr. Davis Herron's letter. It is always interesting and valuable to know of points of view different from one's own.

Each human being can speak and write, of course, only out of the experience of his own life. My profound conviction, based upon my own experience, is contained in the thesis presented in my article. It is a simple and even an obvious one; it is that this world can be safe and happy for none unless it is safe and happy for the least individual in any group, as an individual. Suffering teaches wisdom to those who are capable of learning. Therefore it is my hope that among the Jewish people, who have suffered so much, can be found those

who will lead us most quickly and surely toward a world safe and happy for all human beings.

PEARL S. BUCK

Perkasie, Pennsylvania

Approving Miss Buck

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Before commenting on Pearl Buck's interesting article in the April COMMENTARY, let me commend you for the series as a whole. I believe that the "Crisis of the Individual" is both well named and thus far has been well treated. I find only one thing missing in the series (perhaps you plan to remedy it): that is a bold treatment of the conflict of the individual arising from the competition between the amounts and quality of freedom available to him with some insecurity in the Western democracies, in contrast to the alleged security but absence of freedom in the countries under the influence of Russian totalitarianism.

Now to turn to Miss Buck's article. I see it pretty much as a commentary on two themes which recur throughout all humanistic literature and which may be summed up perhaps in the Socratic "Know thyself" and the Goethean "To be thyself one must slay oneself." These, as Miss Buck quite rightly indicates, are not polarized ideas. Rather they cohere as the two sides of a coin. She gives one amazing illustration of her thesis which we might well think about: namely, that because the Jews have suffered more than any other group in humanity, their plea today ought to be not "help us," but "let us lead the way to help all others."

I find myself in complete agreement with that view not because of the position of leadership that it might theoretically afford Jews, but because it represents sound learning processes in that those who have gone through the experience can perhaps interpret it even to those who haven't, although of course experience is its own best teacher! Think for a moment if the current drive for one hundred million dollars was launched not for the UJA but for a UPA, i.e., "United People's Association." I think that is what Miss Buck means and in that sense I would say great as the need is for Jewish relief, greater still would be the spiritual and ethical motivation, the human fulfilment if that need were translated into a drive for all the downtrodden, all the afflicted, all the poverty-stricken. Isn't that what "mitzvah" really means?

FRANK N. TRAGER

New York City

Helping Others Help Themselves

To THE EDITORS OF COMMENTARY:

I wish I had time to comment more fully on Pearl Buck's article in the April COMMENTARY. I believe that we have to blaze entirely new trails in thinking about our responsibility in connection with helping other peoples in the world improve their living standards, as I believe this is probably the only way in which we can hope to have a lasting peace.

Of course, I cannot agree that in a capitalistic economy we can make food, shelter and clothing free commodities to all men. I am probably somewhat old-fashioned in thinking that people should work for the things they get and the things that are given free are of relatively small value in helping improve the race.

However, I do think that the United States, with its know-how which it has gained over a period of years, can help others develop their natural resources in a way that will make food, shelter and clothing more available to the people of the world. It would take a long time to develop this thesis so that it would be agreed to by everyone, but I am sure that it can be done.

DONALD M. NELSON
Hollywood, California

The Ideal of Community

To THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

John Dewey's article in the March COMMENTARY marks a watershed for me—and I suspect for a good many others as well. Many of us have been trying for a long time to get "the individual" and "society" together into what we know to be their organic interrelationship. Dewey provides the basic intellectual tools for doing this job, without endangering the values involved—indeed, guaranteeing these values against the destruction which threatens them if the adjustments he suggests are not speedily made.

In politics, in economics, in philosophy, and in religion, the reformation which he here pioneers must be carried through. The sense of community alone can provide the medicine for the ills of coercion, conflict, competition and cooperation which are all four founded on the false premise of a dichotomy between "individual" and "social." That false premise describes the perimeter of error within which they rotate around the central notion of community, appropriating different portions of truth in order to deny complementary aspects of truth.

This is basically a religious problem. Where

is the answer to be found? It will not come from Catholicism so long as Catholicism clings to its massive monolithic totalitarianism which emphasizes the social aspects to the detriment of the individual aspects. Nor will it come from a Protestantism which is the tool of Individualism. It might come from a Judaism which freed itself from its particularistic attachments to a single people. From some source, the notion of "community" must come to replace the false dichotomy of the individual and the social.

BUELL G. GALLAGHER

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, California

Mr. Bernstein Protests

To THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I have been greatly upset by a reference in Kurt List's article about me which appeared in the February issue of COMMENTARY. Mr. List alludes in a most unfriendly way to the Catholic Irish of Boston as "anti-Semitic hecklers." Furthermore, his writing suggests that this indictment is quoted from me, which is certainly not true. The whole reference seemed to me inappropriate, forced, tactless, and malevolent. I sincerely hope that you will print some explanation of this, making clear that I have only the greatest respect and warmth for Catholic Irish people.

Incidentally, East Boston is anything but a Catholic Irish neighborhood, being almost completely populated by Italian-Americans.

LEONARD BERNSTEIN
New York City

To THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

The passage in my article referred to by Mr. Bernstein reads as follows: "He [Bernstein] rejects the narrowness of New England Puritanism—if only because his boyhood was embittered by the anti-Semitic heckling of East Boston rowdies (who were Catholic Irish, incidentally)—but New England's basic morality has made a deep impression upon his character."

This seems to make it quite clear that the Catholic Irish are not referred to as anti-Semitic hecklers as a whole, but rather that some East Boston rowdies are referred to as Irish Catholic. (I am sorry if the rowdies were Italian-Americans in Mr. Bernstein's case, but there are enough Irish in East Boston to warrant my original statement.) Nor did I mean to imply that the criticism contained in my reference to anti-Semites was that of Mr. Bernstein. On the contrary, I am only too happy to reiterate publicly that the deep contempt for Catholic

Irish anti-Semites is entirely my own and not that of Mr. Bernstein.

New York City

KURT LIST

Beyond FEPC

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Thanks for sending me *COMMENTARY* with the article by Felix Cohen, and other pieces which I have enjoyed. Cohen does us a service in trying to estimate the dollars-and-cents costs of race discrimination. Maybe the fog of Southern opposition to the remedial legislation might be cleared by adding further to his catalogue of losses. Of course, there are too many other differences between Connecticut and the Carolinas, say, besides race treatment, to permit of comparisons of those states merely in terms of effects of discrimination. I am content, as a Southerner, to deplore our treatment of Negroes as diminishing our social stature in every respect—many unguessed.

What will help, of course, is not a moral resolution, but full employment. Then the racial tensions are so much reduced. We must work on all hopeful fronts. The economic seems to me—and I am sure to Felix Cohen—to promise most.

BROADUS MITCHELL

New York City

Thought-Provoking

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I know of no other magazine currently being published, the contents of which are so uniformly excellent as *COMMENTARY*. I am of the opinion that Dr. Clark's discussion of Negro-Jewish relations is the most incisive and thought-provoking comment which this subject has ever received. I was also particularly interested in Hannah Arendt's article, "Imperialism: Road to Suicide," an amazing dissection of the nerve centers of imperialism.

ELMER A. CARTER, Commissioner,
State Commission Against Discrimination
New York City

A Regular People

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

The March *COMMENTARY* proved of more than usual interest. John Dewey's article, of course, stands out as an example of his usual penetrating insight, so useful to less well-endowed people who want to face the realities.

I won't comment on each article in particular, but it seems to me that the contents as a whole furnish a good example that Jews are regular people, with perhaps more than the usual degree of mental acuity, and have a lively interest in what goes on in the world, and with an eye to its essentials. The local touch, like "The Jewish Delicatessen," is a clean-cut picture of a typical Jewish institution that embodies deeply cherished human values. One does not have to be a Jew to appreciate it.

ALBERT C. BARNES

Merion, Pennsylvania

Dep't of Editorial Fallibility

In our prefatory note on Simon M. Dubnow's Introduction to his *Universal History of the Jews*, which appeared in the March "Cedars of Lebanon," we stated that this was the first publication of the essay in English. Miss Grayzel, of the *Menorah Journal* editorial department, writes us that this is incorrect. It appeared in the *Menorah Journal* of March, 1928 in a different translation. We sincerely regret this error.

Edward E. Grusd, managing editor of the *National Jewish Monthly*, calls our attention to the fact that Sigmund Freud's address to the Vienna Society of the B'nai B'rith was previously printed in that magazine, in the June 1936 issue—hence we were in error in stating that our publication was the first in English. We found the address in a German collection of Freud's works, and bought the American publication rights from the copyright owners, the Imago Publishing Company, in England. We are glad to print this correction.

—ED.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

David in Petticoats

DAVID THE KING. By GLADYS SCHMITT. New York, Dial Press, 1946. 631 pp. \$3.00.

Reviewed by HAROLD ROSENBERG

GLADYS SCHMITT is a sort of biblical Howard Fast. Her David sighs his way through events, much as George Washington did in *The Unvanquished*. Except that Fast, being a "People's Artist," sees history as sighing about Democracy, while Miss Schmitt, a fellow-traveler of psychoanalysis, sees it as rolling its dreamy eyes about Sex.

Of course, it is more dignified to moon about Freedom than about kisses. But mooning, of whatever type, is hardly the stance of the hero. I suspect that both Fast and Miss Schmitt congratulate themselves that they have "humanized" their protagonists by slipping them a Mickey Finn of melancholy. It is doubtful, however, that it is more human to be groggy, even when one is *not* a David or a Washington.

Miss Schmitt's lengthy opus "covers" the entire life of David contained in the biblical narrative. I put "covers" in quotes because, though the episodes are all there, they do not actually form the real body of the story. Miss Schmitt is much more interested in the erotic moods of David, Saul, Jonathan, in their love for one another and for various distracted ladies, than she is, say, in David's acts in Israel's wars for independence and unification. Every issue in *David The King* could be solved in bed. The biblical incidents are present, but dimmed and out of focus—or to use another image, the happenings are sunk in a sort of jelly of eroticism, and hardly seem to happen at all.

To prepare David for her love-pudding, Miss Schmitt begins by softening him up. Her David did not kill Goliath, or any lion bare-handed, or any bands of Philistines—just yarns spread about him because he could make up songs and sing them sweetly to the tune of his lute. Fighting made David sick, and it was not pride in the hosts of the living God that kept him in Saul's encampment but the

warm touch of his friend Jonathan's hand.

Thus David is no hero but The Voice, in the sense that the term is applied to Frank Sinatra. "What voice? Is there more than one voice in Israel?" Instead of trying to understand the events in the Bible, Miss Schmitt is satisfied to use them to raise and lower her interminable tides of sighing sex. She has read Thomas Mann's *Joseph*, but this has only made it possible for her to fall a little lower. *Joseph* is a remarkable example of how the antique can be treated legitimately by a modern writer—as an adventure of Man set apart from us in its cultural form and yet continuous with our life and our image of the world. Miss Schmitt echoes Mann when she can, but, making no effort to penetrate the meaning of the Hebrew heroes, she simply converts David's story into a kind of literary soap opera.

All this is not, unfortunately, harmless horseplay. When the pathos of distance is broken down, when present-day sentimentalists are projected into the biblical situations, what happens is that a species of monster is created, and it is too bad that these anachronistic oafs have to be labeled David, Saul, Jonathan, and associated with the Jews. A particularly shocking illustration of *David The King's* monstrousness is when Miss Schmitt's brooding lovesick Saul orders the slaughter of the priests of Nob.

When we meet this same episode in the Bible, it is also shocking—but the motives behind the slaughter are undefined and invite speculation. We are led to consider the political role of the priesthood under Eli and Samuel; the latter's final rejection of Saul on the basis of the mysterious controversy concerning Agag; and, most important of all perhaps, the threat of usurpation offered by the hero David, who had "slain his ten thousands"—here the aid of the priesthood could be decisive. Samuel had the power to make Saul king, and the notion that the priests could choose his successor would seem to have been a tremendous factor in the transitional reign of the thrust-aside Saul. All this is in the Bible. So, though Saul's destruction of the City of Priests is still an act of madness, it is a deed of violence that takes place upon an

epic stage, awful and grand as well as terrifying.

But when Schmitt's non-political Saul cuts the throats of innocent men and boys out of frustrated love for a cowardly lutist we are in the impure realm of genuine nightmare. In short, strange though it may seem, the biblical David, loping down to fight the giant Goliath with a throwing weapon, remains not only more human than the 1946 version but more acceptable to modern reason.

Nuremberg's New Precedents

THE CASE AGAINST THE NAZI WAR CRIMINALS. By ROBERT H. JACKSON. With a preface by GORDON DEAN. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. 217 pp. \$2.00.

Reviewed by MAX RADIN

THIS book contains nothing that has not already been printed and published, excluding the preface by Mr. Dean and the illustrative photographs. This particular collection of documents—Justice Jackson's opening statement, the international agreement to set up the tribunal, and the indictment—has also been issued as a public document. What the book gives us, however, is State Department Publication No. 2420, in a well-printed and permanent form. Government documents do not normally find a place in our libraries. This book may well do so, and it belongs there.

It also gives us an opportunity to examine once more the fundamental basis of this unique trial. Nothing like it has ever before occurred in the recorded history of the world. Should it have occurred at all? Will it serve a good purpose? And above all, will it advance our ideals of justice?

We may take for granted that everyone knows what this trial is about. The leaders, civil and military, and some of the agents of the Nazi party which ruled Germany since 1933 and undertook to extend its domination over the world are in the prisoners' dock, and if they are convicted of the charges against them, all or some of them may well be sentenced to death.

To put to death the chief of a conquered enemy was at one time the rule in warfare. There was no question of a trial, or of justice. In one form or another, it was a human sacrifice, an agreeable gift to the god of the victors. That this proceeding for all its judicial apparatus is merely a cloak for the same primitive savagery, that the declarations of the agreement

which established the court and framed the charges were hypocritical pretenses, has been freely stated. The keyed-up patriotism of war often brings about this sort of revulsion after the war is over, and the cynicism which it implies expresses in part the impatience of many people with anything that prolongs the climate of war once the fighting has ended.

This attitude toward the trials at Nuremberg is completely unjustified. There is no pretense or hypocrisy in the determination by the allied powers, announced long before the close of the war, to hold the Nazi leaders responsible for acts of savagery which once seemed incredible and, but for the overwhelming evidence and the callous avowals by the perpetrators, would seem incredible even now.

The indictment divides the charges into three classes: crimes against peace, crimes against humanity and crimes against the laws and customs of war. The last, of course, is the one element in this trial that follows an established pattern. It is a matter of international law and there is a large body of treaty, statute and case law on the subject. At the close of the last war, the term "war crimes" covered such offenses and the farce of the Leipzig trials to which Mr. Dean refers were trials for crimes of this character. Such crimes have been committed in every war by every army, but never before on so large a scale as by the Nazis, and very rarely indeed have they so clearly been the result of a set program of the highest military authority.

These crimes have heretofore been tried by national tribunals of the nations whose citizens were the victims of the acts or the nations to which the criminals belonged. But Justice Jackson would not have had to use persuasion to institute an international tribunal if these crimes alone had been in question. Such a tribunal had already been authorized by the Treaty of Versailles, and if a multi-partite treaty does not make international law, it is hard to see what does.

But for "crimes against humanity" the Nuremberg trials do create a new procedure and a new court. Of this fact, Justice Jackson is well aware. He has justified it in his report to President Truman (not included in this book) and toward the end of his opening speech. Those who deplore the "injustice" of trying men for acts which were not punishable when committed are relying upon what is a purely technical rule. The defendants were not punishable by existing procedures, because they had made themselves immune by their seizure of power. The acts themselves were not merely criminal by every human standard of right conduct but even by the formally es-

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tailed law of Germany, that is they would have been criminal for anybody but the members of the Nazi government and their agents.

In other words the term "crimes against humanity" establishes no new law, but merely withdraws from the accused an immunity based on the absence of a previously established international procedure. It is in the highest degree curious that this circumstance should be made much of by the very persons who are inclined to inveigh against "technicalities" in law which disregard generally accepted moral canons.

ACCORDINGLY, when Professor Konvitz in *COMMENTARY* for January 1946 declares that the declaration of the charter rejecting the defense of *ex post facto* violates fundamental justice, he mistakes both the character of the defense and the effect of its rejection. So far as these particular defendants are concerned, the one law which of set purpose and in express terms rejects the defense of *ex post facto* is the law of Nazi Germany itself (Penal Code, Art. 2). Indeed, even before Hitler, the most eminent of German criminologists, von Liszt, had announced that the rule in which the *ex post facto* doctrine was formulated on the Continent was the "Magna Charta of the criminal," and demonstrated what he thought was its fundamental fallacy.

The rule of *ex post facto* is not the basis of existing Russian law, except so far as it can be equitably supported. It is not expressly accepted in the *Codex Juris Canonici* and, according to some commentators, is in contradiction with Canon Law. It cannot be quite said to be fundamental in England, since a statute could disregard it, and the statute would have quasi-statutory force. Many other European states accept it only with qualifications. Therefore, to deny the defense of *ex post facto* is not a denial of a principle of justice which the defendants or all the courts had before this trial accepted as fundamental.

And Professor Konvitz has forgotten that Anglo-American law developed it in a system in which there was no criminal code at all. Most of the serious crimes were punished at common law on the basis of the doctrine that outrages against persons and property were matters whose wrongful character was apparent to the perpetrators and therefore punishable *per se*. It is only when the actors could reasonably have assumed that their acts would not offend accepted canons of right conduct, that the rule of *ex post facto* becomes a rule of justice, and not a technical enforcement of a specific statute or constitution within a specific jurisprudence.

Where I find myself compelled to part company with Justice Jackson is in regard to "crimes against peace," the first count in the indictment which he puts first both in his address as prosecutor and in his report to the President. That individuals may in the future be punished for preparing and waging aggressive wars as charged in the indictment is clearly established under the Charter of the United Nations. War is unqualifiedly the worst of human evils, particularly under modern conditions. But responsibility for it, including the war through which we have just passed, cannot be placed exclusively on the shoulders of even those arrogant and brutal murderers and sadists and their accomplices. In part it must be borne, as Justice Jackson admits, by many men in other countries, not excluding our own, who have given these men aid and comfort, however unwittingly, as well as by the disastrous doctrine of international anarchy which is implied in the cherished dogma of unqualified national sovereignty.

Lord Justice Wright, one of the great names in modern English law, has supported the thesis that war as such is a crime, in a recent article in the English *Law Quarterly Review* (January 1946). He seems to me, however, to give away his case in his opening statement on the "criminality of any unjust war purely aggressive and acquisitive, designed to be carried on and in fact carried on with all the atrocities adverted to in this essay" (an essay previously published on "National Law and the International Law"). Evidently we cannot tell from this statement—and this uncertainty is not removed by the entire article—whether it is the program of atrocities or the aggressive war which constitutes the crime. If it is atrocities, their perpetration in the course of war is irrelevant. If an unjust and aggressive war is itself a crime, as stated in the indictment, it would be so without atrocities.

JUSTICE Jackson's speech is eloquent and deeply moving. It challenges comparison with Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings, which is itself modeled on Cicero's impeachment of Verres. But Jackson makes no attempt to reproduce the sonorous and fiery rhetoric of both these famous examples. One of the merits of the address is its restraint and its air of sincerity. The horrors he recounts he states with the revulsion that decent men must feel in reciting a catalogue of offenses against humanity, but he states them without personal abuse, a fact that adds to the force of his arraignment.

He ends by calling civilization itself the accuser of these twenty-four defendants, and asks

of the court not the unrealizable function of "making war impossible," but of establishing, as a principle of international law, that what is a crime in a moral sense cannot be regarded as innocent in law. It is hardly to be doubted that, whatever the fate of these defendants, this principle will be established as the first and best result of the trial.

The only refuge of the defendants, says Justice Jackson, is "their hope that international law will lag behind the moral sense of mankind." It is even more petty than this—the fact being that no definite machinery of procedure and jurisdiction has hitherto been set up in which men might be charged with acts which international law has always recognized as evil acts. Only the conditions of political international organization have up to now made it impracticable to deal with them effectively. It ought to be borne in mind by lawyers and laymen who discuss "precedents," either to abuse them or to magnify the need of relying on them, that at no time in legal history has the mere absence of a precedent been a sufficient reason for refusing to create one.

The defense of the accused in the course of the trial initiated by this speech has been either a disingenuous disclaimer of knowledge or participation or a tissue of impudent lies. They are obviously, both the big ones and the little ones, quite unchastened. It is not for them or for what may happen to them that the tribunal is instituted. It is to establish as a rule for a new organization of mankind the principle that the duty of man to man is not limited by national frontiers. It is high time that the rule was made.

Exploiting Jewish Tragedy

THE GLORY OF ELSIE SILVER. By Louis GOLDING. New York, Dial Press, 1946. 390 pp. \$2.75.

Reviewed by DIANA TRILLING

FROM my own experience, I can report that it is unnecessary to know Louis Golding's previous novels in order to appreciate—if appreciate is the word—his new book about the Silver family, *The Glory of Elsie Silver*. Mr. Golding has a well-developed serial technique for catching up not only such loose threads as might distract the reader unacquainted with the background of his heroine but also such connections as the reader may be unable to keep in mind over ten or twenty pages. He also knows how to leave dangling such ends as may be useful for future instalments of his

saga of modern Jewish life: for instance, in the last chapter of *The Glory of Elsie Silver*, Elsie's death is recorded as only a matter of rumor; or the continued existence of Tania, Elsie's half-Russian niece, is established with great care, presumably against the day when she will reappear with the Russian occupation forces in Germany or cutting a lithe figure at the United Nations conferences.

But if Elsie Silver's death is possibly in question, her regeneration is fully certified. The Silver daughter whose frivolity had led her from cabaret-acting to marriage with an English lord to marriage with a high Nazi official has her apotheosis in the Ghetto of Warsaw. The first half of Mr. Golding's novel concerns the adventures which land Elsie in Nazi-occupied Poland. Herself Aryanized, the Jewish wife of General van Brockenburg has been able to withstand the rigors of Nazism with comparative ease; her diet, her complexion, her ex-lovers have been more absorbing than the persecutions of her former co-religionists. But such is the inexorableness of fate that Elsie's husband falls out of favor with Himmler; he is exterminated in Warsaw where Elsie has been foolhardy enough to follow him. Without official protection, Elsie must face up to the consequences of her birth; the manner of the confrontation is the rest of Mr. Golding's plot. One of Elsie's ex-lovers, also a Nazi official in Poland, but a weak one, tries to help her escape; temporarily he hides her in the Ghetto. But it is the moment when the Jews are preparing their desperate fight against their captors. Elsie finds herself drawn into participation in the battle. The sight of a baby being impaled on a Nazi bayonet stirs up emotions of outrage that years of life in Hitlerite Germany had not roused, the blinders fall from Elsie's eyes and she joins the Jews fighting in the Ghetto sewers. A slightly bedraggled but wiser glamor girl, she is rolling bandages and nursing the wounded as she disappears from Mr. Golding's story in a cloud of glory.

Mr. Golding's new book belongs, of course, in a familiar category. Basically it is an anti-Nazi thriller—one of those stories, so fashionable in recent years, of crime and detection in which the crimes are perpetrated against a whole people rather than against an individual, in which the culprit is an entire nation rather than a single criminal, and in which the detection represents a whole system of personal and political morality rather than a profession. What is unique about *The Glory of Elsie Silver* is only the use it makes of the Jewish situation. Not that the anti-Semitic activities of the Nazis are commonly overlooked in this

fiction; quite the contrary, they always come in for mention. But so far as I know Mr. Golding is the first novelist to base his whole melodrama on the Jewish aspect of Hitlerism, and certainly the first to exploit the possibilities of the Warsaw Ghetto. And in the very degree that what happened to the Jews of Warsaw is perhaps the most hideous chapter of the whole volume of Nazi terrorism, and the fight of the Warsaw Ghetto perhaps the most heroic and pitiful of all the efforts against Nazism, Mr. Golding's piece of fiction is perhaps the most offensive of all the melodramas the anti-fascist struggle has produced.

Mr. Golding himself compares the stand of the Warsaw Jews to the stand at Thermopylae. That is, he is not unaware of the grandeur of his subject matter. But can it be that he considers a novel such as he has written a fitting chronicle of so much grandeur? The question is not a literary one, but a moral one. Obviously we cannot ask of Mr. Golding that he be an Herodotus, if that is beyond his literary range. But surely we can ask of him that he sufficiently respect a great tragic reality to keep his hands off it, if all he touches it for is to create the most sensational possible context for his pat little moral that "once a Jew, always a Jew"—which is precisely the best that his novel adds up to. Most of the people in the Warsaw Ghetto were always Jews, and they didn't suffer their awful end to provide either an Elsie Silver with the opportunity to regret her renegade past, or a Louis Golding with the opportunity to imply that no matter with how little conscience a Jew may live, there will always come his moment of persecution, his racial blood-bath, in which he will be simultaneously punished and forgiven.

Freedom Is Freedom Is Freedom

TREASURY FOR THE FREE WORLD. Edited by BEN RAEURN. New York, Arco Publishing Co., 1946. 417 pp. \$3.50.

Reviewed by DAVID T. BAZELON

"THE material in this book, now enlarged and revised, originates from the files of *Free World*, the publication which has become a focal point for the ideas of international leaders and statesmen on the urgent problems of our time," says the editor. The volume contains the expressions of some sixty-odd writers—political leaders, prominent intellectuals, movie producers, poets, journalists and experts of

different kinds. Among others, the following names appear: La Guardia, Wallace, Croce, Tito, de Gaulle, Bertrand Russell, Darryl F. Zanuck, Einstein, Juan Negrin, Gunnar Myrdal and Carl Sandburg. The book is divided into thirteen sections that deal with such subjects as the international policy of the United States, science, the problems of the great political areas of the world, the question of a free press, group prejudice, and so on. The over-all subject of the volume can be identified as the problem of freedom in the world that is to be built on the victory of the United Nations. But the true unity of these writings (if there is any) consists in a mode of thought and an attitude toward politics and historical development.

What sets the tone for this unity is the conflict the majority of these writers have in common. Their statements are conditioned by two contradictory assumptions—that the world of the United Nations is free, and that it must become free. Different writers weight these assumptions differently. But this can be said in general: the more they lean on the first assumption, the more wordy and vacuous are their pronouncements concerning the second. The collection opens, very appropriately, with an essay by William O. Douglas entitled "Freedom From and Freedom For." To set up notions of positive and negative freedom is, of course, the most natural way of dealing with the basic contradiction of the assumptions. But the value of these notions is seriously compromised by the fact that freedom from is freedom for; or, a solved problem is a solved problem.

The main result, in any case, is Fourth-of-July rhetoric. In a number of the articles, the writers begin by affirming the value of freedom, liberty, etc.; then they say we have had enough talk about freedom, liberty, etc.; then they proceed to talk some more about freedom, liberty, etc. This rhetorical strain, this inability to analyze the world except in terms of moral abstractions, reaches its lowest point in the article by Orson Welles, who says that "A free world means just that. . . ."

Another element that unifies this collection is that many of the writers reduce all problems to one problem—the problem of international cooperation. The logic of this maneuver is that there are no wars without enemies, therefore let us have no enemies. Full, workable and thoroughly democratic cooperation among nations would certainly solve all of our problems, but that would be because the very presence of such cooperation would proclaim that all of our problems had already been solved. The whole is no better than the parts

that make it up (some would say that in social affairs it is always worse). If, in the present period, we do not have an international organization reflecting the problems of its member-states, then international organization will be useless. One way or the other, only the solution of these internal problems will avert another war; the mere creation of an international organization will not.

And what are the primary problems in the world today? Most of the writers in *Treasury for the Free World* are candid enough to admit that the chief questions concern Russia, America and their mutual relations. As regards the creation of a free world, Russian totalitarianism and capitalist property-forms in America are the two greatest issues. And they are the least discussed in the whole book! Due mention is made of the powerful economic potential of the Soviet Union; and the book is literally overburdened with holiday references to America's democratic traditions. But property-for-profit and totalitarianism are discussed only by a few socialists—Pierre Cot and Wou Saofong, for instance.

The best articles are those of factual content; or those having the greatest specificity of analysis. Hugo Fernandez Artucio presents with simple, factual force the ugly picture of education in Argentina. The portrait of Julian Zugazagoitia, hero of the Spanish Civil War, is written with genuine feeling by J. Alvarez Del Vayo. Koshi Katayama offers an interesting résumé of the history of the liberal tradition in Japan.

The most brilliant article is Gunnar Myrdal's analysis of the American Negro. The most embarrassing piece is by Darryl F. Zanuck, who proposes that the film corporations of the United Nations take over the German film industry (because movies have become as important as munitions, he says). The best writing is in Thomas Mann's "The Tragedy of Germany." An example: "The mechanized romanticism called Germany. . . ." Julian Huxley's article on the future of colonies is the most disappointing. He very intelligently deals with everything but the essential aspect of the question, which is the compulsion of capitalist nations to exploit the colonies economically.

Judged by any reasonably high standard of critical, penetrating thought, this volume as a whole must be termed a failure. That is because, as long as man remains a stranger to freedom, talk about freedom will never be anything more than—talk about freedom. Hope or good will alone will not build a new or a free world; they will only lead us a little more sedately—and sedatively—to the abyss.

Modern Guides to the Perplexed?

THIS IS JUDAISM. By FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1944. 238 pp. \$2.50.

CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM: AN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY. By ROBERT GORDIS. New York, Behrman House, 1945. 116 pp. \$1.50.

Reviewed by SIDNEY MORGENBESSER

PITY the poor Jew who is neither Reform, Orthodox, nor Conservative. If these categories, supposedly exhaustive, do not apply to him, he is strange, unclassifiable, blameworthy. Yet his existence is not without justification. As a member of the legion of the unaffiliated—comprising most of American Jewry, incidentally—he is the customer before whom the wares of the different movements are spread out, and the excuse for the publication of other men's rationalizations and self-appraisals. Here we have the two latest such efforts to corral the religious maverick.

Dr. Isserman's *This is Judaism*—a book two-thirds history and one-third proposal—is a Reform tract for the times. The evolution of Judaism as an idea-pattern from Moses to the prophets is briefly sketched in Hegelian fashion, and the implication is that contemporary Reform is the logical heir of Prophetic utterance. In no sense can this survey be considered balanced or the inference validated.

The historical "facts"—that the Bible is not the word of God but written by men divinely inspired—are, almost unwittingly, employed by the author as a double-edged sword. Biblical injunctions whose cogency is doubted—e.g., abstinence from ham—are dismissed as merely man-made. But *per contra* the acceptable doctrines—e.g., that Israel is chosen—are sanctioned by an appeal to divine revelation. Moreover the author is so liberal in attributing such revelation (*vide* his experience at Catholic shrines) that it is doubtful which religious views, with the exception of those embodied in the Talmud, the author would negate.

It was inevitable that the chief task of the early Reformers was to bring about the cessation of certain Orthodox practices. However, when nothing came to replace them, a certain emptiness of content resulted. This is implicitly granted by the author, who, together with most of his colleagues, now wants to re-introduce Jewish modes of worship and behavior. But it is a weak voice that speaks when a specific problem—such as the Sabbath

—is considered. It is piously and sincerely hoped that something will be done to enhance the importance of the Sabbath. It is hoped—but even after a second reading one doesn't know what in detail is hoped for, and why.

Dr. Isserman's program for Jewish life is simple: Judaism, which is identified with broad, universal religious themes, must be continued. Remembering that most Christian ministers identify Christianity with the same themes and that the criteria guiding the early Jewish Reformers in Germany were derived from Protestant circles, we do not find it at all strange that the author should be at a loss to point out major differences between Judaism and Christianity. Besides, in these days of "unity," it sounds much nicer to speak not merely of Christianity but of the "Judeo-Christian" tradition.

Dr. Isserman presents relatively few things for Jews to do as Jews. Let us not mistake the author's intention; he desires people to live well and ethically; he demands social justice. But these are for all mankind and cannot be identified as a Jewish program. Since the old theological themes of conversion, sin and *Olam Habah* seem to form no part of the author's world, his religious program amounts to a social worker's creed.

Thus the charge, leveled frequently by Conservative and Orthodox writers, that Reform is empty, has not been met.

As if to remove the grounds of the counter-charge that Conservative Judaism lacks an explicitly formulated program, Dr. Gordis has written *Conservative Judaism: An American Philosophy*. Professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary and president of the Rabbinical Assembly, he is obviously qualified for his task.

Dr. Gordis does not speak authoritatively for the majority of Conservative Jews, yet he does not speak merely for himself. He presents his own convictions and insights and hopes that they are shared by many, if not most, of the leaders of the movement.

Before getting down to specific issues, Dr. Gordis attempts to characterize the movement and its sources. He finds it "dynamic," "progressive," "pragmatic," "distrustful of abstract theory," "characteristically American in spirit," "vital." But what good is it to employ all these plaudit-producing adjectives unless they are defined in context and shown to be relevant? Among the historical formulators of the Conservative program Dr. Gordis lists Frankel, Schechter, Ahad Ha'am, Isaac Friedlander, L. Ginzberg and M. M. Kaplan. But a movement that claims Ahad Ha'am, Louis Ginzberg

and Mordecai Kaplan as its godfathers and formulators might very well be a muddle of contradictions, for on vital issues these writers disagree.

Conservatism, having learned from the errors of both Orthodoxy and Reform, will attempt to evolve a program flexible enough to admit of change and solid enough to avoid emptiness of content. Judaism is defined as the evolving religious civilization of the Jewish people and the Jewish people is described as an *Am*—a cultural and spiritual unity that cannot survive without nationalism and religion. Nationalism demands the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine; and religion demands loyalty to God, who is defined as the one great spirit at the heart of the world, continually renewing creation. Man, though linked with the entire animal kingdom, is unique in his possession of intelligence.

The Jews are unique among the nations. The unique role of Israel has been as an instrument of revelation; this is summed up in the Torah under two aspects: one ethical, hence universal and binding upon all men; and the other ceremonial, hence particular and bearing a specific Jewish character. The ceremonies must be adhered to, for they symbolize great cosmic and ethical values, or perpetuate the group identity, or have aesthetic quality. Hebrew education must be intensified; "Jewish home-life" must be revitalized; and Jewish law must be changed but not forgotten.

The sections Dr. Gordis devotes to theology lack logical rigor. Literal-minded critics would dismiss many of his phrases—e.g. "spirit at the center of the universe"—as meaningless, since no one has ever been close enough to the center of the universe to know what is there. Of course this is unfair, for the phrase is metaphorical. But Dr. Gordis gives us nothing but metaphors. These may be helpful but they certainly cannot be the substance and soul of discourse.

The only basis for the assertion that though God's essence is unknowable, specific things can be known about him, would be an ontological distinction between substance and attribute. But this has been discarded and shown to be untenable by most, if not all contemporary logicians. Of course the medieval Jewish philosophers employed these terms, but at least that was allowable in the light of the then accredited analyses of knowledge. When they discoursed on metaphysics they attempted to support themselves on logical proof. They would never have mistaken fiat for philosophy. Nor would they have leapt from the theory of evolution

to the assertion that science bears testimony to the unity of God; and from the belief in the uniformity of nature (which the author formulates rather badly) to the view that religion is basic to science. Here Dr. Gordis' lack of serious regard for contemporary philosophical writings is hard to forgive.

THE real difficulty, however, is that his book is so bland and cavalier. We are to have both change and permanence, but nowhere are we given the criteria for change. To be sure, the author devotes space and energy to a reconsideration of certain Jewish rites and ceremonies. But on what basis some are chosen and others rejected is not stated. Nor are we told in what sense law is important in Jewish life at the present time. Unless Dr. Gordis believes that those who do not obey the decision of the Rabbinical Assembly should be punished, it is a pun on his part to consider the Assembly a body that formulates law. At best, according to his plan, the Assembly would propose behavior patterns that would have the status of customs.

Judaism as the evolving religious civilization of the Jewish people is an inadvisable definition without criteria to define either Judaism or the Jewish group independently of each other. Even though so rigid a procedure is unnecessary for ordinary discourse, it is extremely vital here. For in no sense can the Judaism expounded by Dr. Gordis be considered either the practice or the body of beliefs of millions of living Jews. If Judaism is the religious civilization of the Jewish people, then to determine what Judaism is, we should take a majority vote or at least make a sociological survey. Dr. Gordis might retort that his definition implies not only Judaism at this particular time but the tendencies of Jewish belief throughout history. If so, contemporary movements within Jewish life that negate these historical strains would not be part of Judaism. And thus to remain loyal to "Judaism" would be to remain loyal to ancestral beliefs. The possibility is opened up of Jews without Judaism, and of Judaism without the capacity for real change.

From one point of view the issue is semantic. Yet definitions of Judaism purporting to be merely descriptions are in reality *normative*—they express judgments and they guide actions. These definitions are employed to bolster certain movements and *ipso facto* have sociological significance and a directed tendency.

Dr. Gordis objects to "abstract theory"—theory that does not directly relate to practice and is unspecific—but in his discussion of social-economic ideals he is vagueness incarnate.

The question is not so much to affirm the necessity of a better, more democratic world as to identify the men and the institutions blocking the path to it. And once these are identified it must be decided how to overcome them.

Conservatism might easily enough grow into the most important Jewish movement in our country. But what would it be worth if Dr. Gordis is correct in saying, "Judaism can grow and flourish only where Judaism is the dominant and not the minority culture"?

Palestine Handbook

THE PALESTINE YEARBOOK. Edited by SOPHIE A. UDIN. Washington, Zionist Organization of America, 1945. 526 pp. \$3.50.

Reviewed by SEYMOUR MELMAN

THIS useful compendium issued by the Zionist organization of America is a fine reference book which is rendered especially useful by a series of articles rich in data on various aspects of the Jewish community in Palestine.

Jewish economic development is discussed by Eliezer Kaplan, treasurer of the Jewish Agency, and David Horowitz, a highly competent economist, who writes on Palestine's absorptive capacity. Horowitz discusses internal and external political conditions, among them government currency restrictions, which limit economic expansion. The principal agricultural and industrial developments necessary for large-scale immigration are outlined. Horowitz also points out the significant role of immigration in expanding absorptive capacity by bringing skilled personnel and investment capital into the country.

Z. Abramowitz, a Palestinian writer and economist specializing in Arab problems, outlines the great transformations in the Arab economy resulting from heavy war-time expenditures by the military in Palestine. The demand for labor on army projects and in factories attracted thousands of Arab peasants as well as citrus-plantation, dock and construction workers whose customary jobs were suspended under war-time conditions. About 20,000 workers were, in addition, imported from Syria. Abramowitz reports that:

"Among the tens of thousands of workers mobilized by the government, several thousands had to be skilled men, masons, carpenters, electricians, etc. At first these skilled workers were all Jews, for skilled Arab workers were hard to find. However, within a relatively

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short time many thousands of Arab workers had acquired various specialized skills. Not only did thousands of fellahs and their children join the ranks of the wage-earners, but many of them became skilled workers."

Many Arab peasants were able to rid themselves of the yoke of usurious debt under which they had labored for years. Arab businessmen greatly enlarged their capital resources; and several Arab labor organizations were formed.

A large section, "Palestine: Survey of Progress," includes developments in government, colonization, rescue work in Europe, sports, cultural life and scientific research. There are also lists of Hebrew periodicals, books published on Zionism and Palestine, and Jewish organizations throughout the world.

We note that the lists of Zionist organizations in the book include the official Revisionist bodies as well as their several "front organizations," without identifying them as such. This is perhaps no accident, for the Revisionists have lately been befriended by leaders of the Zionist Organization of America, who are actively interested in having the Revisionists participate in the forthcoming World Zionist Congress.

Handy Compendium

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION. Edited by VERGILIUS FERM. The Philosophical Library, New York, 1945. 844 pp. \$10.00.

Reviewed by MORDECAI S. CHERTOFF

THE Philosophical Library first came to this reviewer's attention with the publication of what is undoubtedly one of the worst attempts at classics-popularization ever undertaken—Auerbach's translation-distortion of selections

from the Babylonian Talmud. The present volume partially restores our faith in the firm, for the editor did call upon competent Jewish scholars for most of the Judaica articles. Professors Louis Finkelstein, Boaz Cohen, Shalom Spiegel, Simon Greenberg and Nelson Glueck are represented, as well as Dr. Ben Zion Bokser, Professors Sheldon Blank, Samuel S. Cohon, Moses Hadas and Julian Morgenstern. And Louis Lipsky, veteran Zionist leader, has contributed a lengthy discussion of the movement.

In spite of the necessary brevity of the individual articles, the *Encyclopedia*, which for the most part strives successfully for objective presentation, is a handy compendium of information on the humanities generally. The layman will find it almost adequate for itself for most reference purposes. And the professional will find it useful for quick reference, particularly in fields other than his own immediate one.

But granting that the inclusion of all the significant religions of the world necessitates brevity, yet the balance is not too good: Rashi, for example, garners all of four lines, with thirty for Maimonides and twenty for Saadia—while the Red Cross rates three columns. And editor Ferm has maintained quite a margin of error. The same unwarranted deductions that lessened the value of Roland Emerson Wolfe's book on Amos and Hosea mar his article on these prophets. Coincidentally enough, random reading produced another glaringly inaccurate generalization by the same writer: he casually describes the Israelite conception of God, from Moses up through the Exile, as henotheistic (belief in a supreme God and lesser Gods) despite the contrary evidence which Professor W. F. Albright has adduced in support of the traditional Jewish claim to monotheism as a characteristic of Jewish theology from almost the dawn of its history.

BOOK REVIEWERS IN THIS ISSUE

HAROLD ROSENBERG is a poet and critic. His article "The Inner World of the Hasid" appeared in the March COMMENTARY.

MAX RADIN is John Henry Boalt Professor of Law at the University of California.

DIANA TRILLING regularly reviews fiction for the *Nation*, and contributes to the magazine. Her *Portable D. H. Lawrence* is soon to be published.

DAVID T. BAZELON's reviews have appeared

in the *New Republic*, *Partisan Review* and COMMENTARY.

SIDNEY MORGENSESSER is director of the Hillel Jewish Student Foundation at Queens College.

SEYMOUR MELMAN edits the Bulletin of the Council on Arab-Jewish Cooperation.

MORDECAI S. CHERTOFF is a student at the Jewish Theological Seminary. He has contributed to the *Jewish Frontier* and other magazines.

COMMENTARY

CURRENT BOOKS ON JEWISH SUBJECTS

OUT OF THIS CENTURY: THE INFORMAL MEMOIRS OF PEGGY GUGGENHEIM. By PEGGY GUGGENHEIM. New York, Dial Press, 1946. 373 pp. \$3.75.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT: THE TRIBUTE OF THE SYNAGOGUE. Compiled by MAX KLEIMAN. Foreword by STEPHEN S. WISE. New York, Bloch, 1946. 272 pp. \$3.00.

Tributes to Roosevelt by lay leaders and rabbis of the American Jewish community and some of the late President's utterances on special occasions of Jewish interest.

PALESTINE: PROBLEM AND PROMISE; AN ECONOMIC STUDY. By ROBERT R. NATHAN, OSCAR GASS, DANIEL CREAMER. Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1946. 675 pp. \$3.75.

Prepared under the auspices of the American Palestine Institute.

MAX WEBER. New York, Tudor Publishing Co., 1946. \$1.00. (American Artists group monograph, No. 4)

The artist's reflections on the purposes of art, and reproductions of many of his paintings.

WILLIAM ZORACH. New York, Tudor Pub-

lishing Co., 1946. \$1.00. (American Artists group monograph, No. 15)

Reproductions of some of Zorach's sculpture and drawings and a brief autobiography.

THE BLACK BOOK: THE NAZI CRIME AGAINST THE JEWISH PEOPLE. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946. 560 pp. \$5.00.

A bill of indictment against Nazi Germany prepared by a committee of the World Jewish Congress, Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (USSR), Vaad Leumi (Palestine) and American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists.

ANATOMY OF RACIAL INTOLERANCE. Compiled by GEORGE B. DE HUSZAR. New York, H. W. Wilson, 1946. 283 pp. \$1.25. (The Reference Shelf, Volume 18, No. 5.)

Reprints of articles on race prejudice and a full bibliography.

PALESTINE: JEWISH HOMELAND? Compiled by JULIA E. JOHNSON. New York, H. W. Wilson, 1946. 342 pp. \$1.25. (The Reference Shelf, Volume 18, No. 6.)

Reprints of article from many sources on all sides of the question and a full bibliography.

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